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ABSTRACT

On behalf of the California Legislature's Joint Committee on Reorganization of Large Urban Unified School Districts, Arthur D. Little, Inc. has been working since November 1969 to produce information which the joint committee can use in proposing responsible, research based legislation in accordance with its charter. In the first volume of this report are three major sections: (1) introduction--a brief discussion of the purpose of the study and of the way it was carried out; (2) summary--an overall summary of the results of the study including major conclusions and recommendations; (3) presentation and discussion of research findings--the results of integrating all of the field work, research tasks, and discussions in a comprehensive documented report. It deals with criteria for district reorganization, the need for district reorganization, and the description and evaluation of various alternative forms of reorganization in large urban unified school districts.
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ALTERNATIVES FOR REORGANIZING

LARGE URBAN UNIFIED SCHOOL DISTRICTS

VOLUME I: REPORT OF FINDINGS

A Report to the
California State Legislature,
Joint Committee on Reorganization of
Large Urban Unified School Districts

June 2, 1970

UD 015 722

Arthur D Little Inc.

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I. INTRODUCTION

Arthur D. Little, Inc., has been working since November 1969, on behalf of the California Legislature's Joint Committee on Reorganization of Large Urban Unified School Districts to produce information which the Joint Committee can use in proposing responsible, research-based legislation in accordance with its charter. While our purpose has remained constant throughout our work, the scope and variety of our tasks have changed substantially.

It was agreed that in the course of our work we would seek to answer the following general questions:

- How can effective representation of educational needs be assured in very large urban school districts characterized by minority group concentrations and centralization of poverty in the core area of the city?

- What are the decision-making prerogatives and the principal administrative functions which should be decentralized to support the desired representation process and to improve responsiveness to educational needs?

- What authorities and principal administrative functions are operationally feasible of delegation in whole or in part to decentralized levels? Which of these are now legally feasible of delegation? What laws constrain or adversely affect functionally useful forms of delegation of authority and decision-making prerogatives?

- What are the criteria to be met by answers to the first and second questions, and to the first part of the third question?

- What are the relative advantages and disadvantages of major alternative forms of reorganization when evaluated against the defined criteria and in discussions with representatives of various key parties-in-interest?

While the charter of the Joint Committee encompasses all of the State's large urban unified school districts, the Los Angeles Unified School District (LAUSD) was suggested as and agreed to become the primary focus of our study for the Joint Committee. The rationale here was (a) that Los Angeles represented an extreme case illustrating most if not all problems of large urban unified school districts; (b) time and budget constraints precluded specific studies of each large urban unified school district in the State; and (c) examining a single case in depth was likely to be of greater value in providing research based information and suggestions to the Joint Committee.

At the beginning of our study it was agreed that we should examine the relative advantages and disadvantages of two major alternative forms of district reorganization:

- The reorganization of the Los Angeles Unified School District into several smaller independent school districts.

- The decentralization of selected administrative functions and decision-making prerogatives of the Los Angeles Unified School District to the subdistrict level with funding remaining centrally disbursed, but with more localized responsibility, including increased community participation at the subdistrict level, for sensing and treating local educational needs.

Our study was organized into four sequential but somewhat overlapping general stages:

- Data collection and initial formulation of criteria to be met by district reorganization.

- Synthesis of information, specification of alternative forms of district reorganization, and further delineation of criteria.

- Testing the feasibility of alternative forms of district reorganization with representatives of community groups and opinion leaders, the school system, and the Joint Committee.

- Writing the draft and final reports.

Throughout the study, close liaison and frequent interaction was maintained with the Joint Committee through its chairman, Senator John L. Harmer, its consultant, Mr. David C. Hoopes, and its counsellors, Dr. Stephen M. Barro, Dr. Conrad Briner, and Dr. Werner Z. Hirsch, Chief Counsellor.

The first stage of the study included:

- A two day conference organized and conducted by PEDR Urban Associates to review the study proposal and work plan, identify various interest groups to be contacted, examine the New York City experience in school district organization, and discuss concerns of conference participants. Those present included members of the Joint Committee and administrative assistants, board members and key administrators of the LAUSD, members of the Arthur D. Little, Inc. study team and its consultants, and the staff of PEDR Urban Associates.

- A search of the literature on school district reorganization.

- Personal interviews with parents of students, other citizens, teachers, principals, board members and central and area office administrators of LAUSD, administrators in the Office of the Los Angeles County Superintendent of Schools, city government officials, and representatives of other large city and county school systems in California.

- Collection of reports and statistics about the school system of the LAUSD, its budgets and expenditures, organization charts, pupil performance, racial and ethnic composition, teacher transfers, enrollments, prior study reports, and related data from the County and other large urban unified school districts.

- Five public hearings on district reorganization held by the Joint Committee in locations throughout the LAUSD and one hearing in Sacramento for superintendents and board members of other large urban unified school districts in California. Members of the Arthur D. Little, Inc. study team attended these hearings and reviewed the transcripts of the hearings.

The purpose of this stage of work was to identify key problems and organizational dysfunctions, explore causes of and relationships among identified problems, and investigate what has and has not worked to ameliorate those problems and why. From this information we began to define criteria against which to measure the appropriateness of the present form of district organization as well as alternative reorganization possibilities.

The second stage of work involved the synthesis of collected information, the specification of eight alternative forms of district reorganization, and the definition of six criteria to be met through district reorganization. A brief discussion paper was developed describing the eight possible forms of district reorganization (grouped into four major families of district reorganization) and each was rated against the agreed upon criteria. This information was reviewed in a meeting with the Joint Committee, its counsellors, and board members and key administrators of the LAUSD.

Drawing on the information collected in stage one, and with the very helpful cooperation and assistance of the new Acting Superintendent of Schools and his staff, a questionnaire was developed and administered to a sample of teaching personnel throughout the LAUSD. It was designed to obtain the views of people in the classroom regarding issues affecting school operations and instruction as they relate to district organization and to criteria of quality education, school integration, representation in decision-making, accountability, and the implementability of district reorganization.

At this point it was agreed with the Joint Committee and its counsellors that the scope of the study should be expanded. A second contract was executed to permit additional discussions with community groups and opinion leaders regarding the alternative district reorganization possibilities and to support further analysis and documentation of the feasibility of further decentralization of selected decision-making responsibilities.

The third stage of the study involved testing the feasibility of the eight alternative forms of district reorganization with groups and opinion leaders in the community, with representatives of the school system, and with the Joint Committee. Additional tasks undertaken under terms of the new contract included:

- An evaluation of the advantages and disadvantages of eight district reorganization alternatives through questionnaires and discussions with a variety of parents of students, members of school advisory councils and school-connected organizations, and citizen opinion leaders. With the help of City Councilmen and members of the Joint Committee and their staff assistants 18 working sessions were held throughout the LAUSD involving well over 200 citizens.

- A similar discussion group of 15 LAUSD school principals who in a half-day meeting examined and discussed the reorganization alternatives, shared their feelings about the developmental needs of the school system, and recorded their opinions on questionnaires.

- An analysis of the actual application of instructional resources (instructional salary dollars per student, teacher characteristics, and funds for instructional materials) in a sample of 15 elementary schools selected to represent different geographical areas and levels of student achievement.

- Analyses of the feasibility and relative cost of decentralizing selected instructional resource persons and instructional management functions and responsibilities closer to the local schools.

- An exploration of the issues and problems involved in defining the boundaries of possible new sub-districts within the LAUSD.

During this third stage, various issues were explored with school board members and district administrators both individually and in groups. Discussion topics included definition of criteria to be used in deciding on possible forms of district reorganization, implications of various organizational changes, the costs and operational feasibilities of certain changes, financing implications, and the probable effects of reorganization on staff and the learning of students. Explorations were conducted regarding the legal constraints of the Education Code on possibly desired changes. The results of these discussions explorations and explorations, including the results of the Teacher Survey, were reviewed first with the Joint Committee's counsellors and then with the Joint Committee in Sacramento. The review session with the Joint Committee was transcribed and studied in preparation for writing the study report.

The fourth and final stage of our study was concerned with writing the final report. A draft of our conclusions and recommendations, backed up by reports on the various study tasks, was written and distributed to the Joint Committee and its counsellors. A meeting was held in Sacramento with the Joint Committee to present orally the results of our study and to review the draft. Criticisms and suggestions emanating from those reviews have been considered carefully in editing and reorganizing this final study report.

In order to address most effectively the various audiences interested in this study report, we have tried to organize the contents in a way which, hopefully, will be most understandable and useful to the different audiences. Bound in the first volume of this report are three major sections:

VOLUME ONE

I. Introduction - A brief discussion of the purpose of the study and of the way it was carried out.

II. Summary - An overall summary of the results of our study including major conclusions and recommendations.

III. Presentation and Discussion of Research Findings - The results of integrating all of our field work, research tasks, and discussions in a comprehensive, documented report. It deals with criteria for district reorganization, the need for district reorganization, and the description and evaluation of various alternative forms of reorganization in large urban unified school districts.

VOLUME TWO

Appendices - This volume contains the results of the several discrete research tasks carried out in the course of the study. It comprises the data base from which most of our conclusions and recommendations were derived.

This study was designed and carried out as a policy planning study. Its primary purpose is to assist legislators in drafting responsible, research-based legislation regarding the reorganization of large urban unified school districts. As a policy planning document this report is not intended as a blueprint for implementing detailed rearrangements of functions or staffing patterns within schools or at district or subdistrict administrative levels. We sincerely hope that it will be useful in the further improvement of public school education in the large cities of California.

II. SUMMARY

This section of the report summarizes the study findings and conclusions which are discussed in greater detail in Section III of this volume and documented in the several appendices bound in the second volume of this report. Being a summary, it highlights the major issues and concerns and it is not written as a research report. Readers interested in references, source materials, and documentation will find them indicated in the following section of this volume.

A. Decentralization Versus District Reorganization

Almost everyone concerned with school systems in large cities is in favor of decentralization. Agreement is most widespread when decentralization is defined generally: the process of moving closer to the schools the responsibilities for making decisions on instruction and for managing resource persons and supportive services vital to instruction. The Los Angeles Unified School District (LAUSD) has been working toward decentralization for years (with varying degrees of success), as have other large city school systems in California and other states.

The generally accepted rationale for decentralization is that it locates the decision-making prerogatives where the important action is, close to the schools and classrooms in which learning takes place. It enables local schools to adapt curriculum, instruction, supportive services, and student services to the needs of the schools and students in that locality. If effectively implemented, it shortens communication lines, increases responsiveness to changing needs and conditions, and enhances the possibility of achieving accountability for results. It may or may not increase overall costs per student (depending on what cost elements are eliminated from the central office and the degree of duplication in the field), but the argument is often made that the increased educational benefits from decentralization outweigh any incurred incremental costs. Therefore, the main justification for decentralization is that it facilitates improved education in the schools.

While decentralization in general is a popular theme, there is less agreement as to how far to decentralize what specific prerogatives and responsibilities. Addressing this issue was, of course, an important part of our work. Our conclusions are summarized later in this section and detailed further in the following section.

There is another body of thought concerning the issue of school system management and operation in large cities. It holds that school districts in our larger cities are so big, so complex,

and so bureaucratic and inefficient that substantial reorganization, not simply administrative decentralization, is needed. Proponents believe that drastic changes are needed. Suggestions range from the establishment of virtually autonomous schools, to breaking up large districts into smaller, independent districts, to changing the sources and structure of school financing, to modifications in the way school boards are organized and their members selected. The central thrust here is to locate more policy powers closer to the communities in which the schools are situated.

Advocates of district reorganization believe that there is inadequate representation of those affected by decisions in the decision-making process. Many are appalled by the monolithic character of big city school systems and resent their inability to influence what happens (or doesn't happen) in "their school." They are inclined to believe that no board members really represent their interests and that the "establishment" is all too firmly entrenched. They want more pluralistic involvement in assessing educational needs, in allocating resources, and in deciding on programs to fit the needs of students who are not best served by standard policies or offerings. These advocates of substantial reorganization insist on more accountability by policy makers and school administrators to more localized groups. They believe that increased public support for the schools would be engendered by improved representation, by increased parental involvement in activities and decisions concerning the schools, and through measures to assure more effective accountability at local levels.

As indicated earlier, there is extremely widespread and popular support for decentralization in large city school systems. The advocates of district reorganization (who, incidentally, also want decentralization) are not as numerous but they are generally more active, vocal, and, of course, more critical of present arrangements. Large numbers of people would like some of each. While strongly favoring decentralization they also would like to see improved representation, more participation of parents in school affairs, and more opportunities for people in local communities to influence the ways their children are being educated in the schools. However, few people favor breaking up the large districts into several smaller ones and even less favor completely independent schools.

The Arthur D. Little, Inc., study team has concluded that substantial school district reorganization (including decentralization) is necessary in very large urban school districts. A discussion of how we reached that conclusion follows, together with suggestions of alternative forms of district organization.

B. Criteria for Deciding Among Alternative Forms of District Organization

From our early field work, including literature searches and interviews in the community and with members of the Los Angeles school system, we came to an agreement with the Joint Committee and its counsellors on six criteria to be used in assessing the relative appropriateness of different forms of district organization. Each alternative form of district organization was to be tested against each criterion to see how well it met the defined requirements. The six agreed upon criteria and statements as to how they were applied are given below:

1. Quality Education

How well does a given form of district organization support the delivery of quality education? Does it permit flexibility at local levels in modifying the curriculum and staffing patterns to meet the particular needs of students in specific schools? Does it result in improved student learning, and can these improvements be demonstrated? Does it enable local administrators to differentially apply available instructional resources to meet unique requirements? Does it assure that local community needs and aspirations are reflected in school programs and services? Does it stimulate parental involement and support? Does it encourage the dissemination and adoption of improved instructional methods? Does it facilitate the most appropriate use of resource persons in instructional and staff development? Is there accountability for results?

2. Representation

How well does a given form of district organization support the involvement of representatives of various parties-in-interest in decision-making? How sensitive is the policy-making and administrative apparatus to the interests and needs of various constituent groups? Does the political process operate to assure that sensitivity? Is there effective communication to and from the various elements in the community? Is there pluralistic involvement in the assessment of local educational needs and in the determination of priorities? Is there sufficient power shared with representatives of various parties-in-interest to assure their continued interest and support? Is there assurance that local decision-making prerogatives will stay localized and not be taken over by higher echelons of organization? Can school officials and staff influence the nature of services and resources made available to them? Is there accountability to local groups possessing specific sanctions and powers? Can aggrieved parties obtain immediate and objective hearings and is there adequate provision for due process?

3. Integration

How well does a given form of district organization support the achievement of heterogeneity and balance among students differing as to race and socioeconomic status? Is de jure segregation eliminated? Can de facto segregation be reduced? Can school attendance areas be modified within the district to improve racial balance in the schools? Do district boundaries preclude the integration of contiguous concentrations of students of different ethnic, racial, and socioeconomic backgrounds? Can the organization act to prevent the adoption of classroom organization, e.g., "tracking" and homogeneous ability grouping, which might give rise to another kind of "de facto segregation" within schools?

4. Cost

Is a given form of district organization cost-effective? Can it be expected to yield improved educational quality at no increase in unit (per student) cost? What is the magnitude of the (one time) cost of changing over to a new organization form? Are improved efficiencies possible in the allocation and control of costs? What is the effect on the local tax rate of adopting a new form of district organization? What effect would it have on the Legislature's willingness to increase its support for education. How would it affect the electorate in voting funds for the school system?

5. Accountability

Does the reorganization alternative facilitate the definition of behavioral or learning objectives for students in specific schools? Is there assurance that the assessment of educational needs will be systematically carried out in each school and the results used in curriculum, instruction, and staffing planning? Is there assurance of local community involvement in the assessment of educational needs in each school, in the definition of educational objectives, and in planning for the achievement of those objectives? Is responsibility specified for meeting the defined educational needs of schools, do appropriate managerial prerogatives accompany that responsibility, and are sanctions immediately available for application to management and staff performance? Can adequate research and development resources be brought to bear on the development of appropriate instruments for assessing educational needs, for monitoring achievement, for diagnosing difficulties of individual students, for evaluating and reporting student achievement, and for analyzing and reporting the costs of that achievement? Is there latitude for schools to adopt special programs and utilize funds in discretionary ways to meet special needs? Are mechanisms available to assure differential allocation of educational resources

to students and schools with unique requirements? Does the management information system provide "feedback" to local school staff on the results (including cost-effectiveness) of their efforts, and does it permit meaningful comparison of results among schools? Are both policy and administrative decision-making prerogatives located appropriately to make the best use of feedback information in sensitively modifying the application of resources?

6. Implementability

Is there widespread intergroup support for a given form of district organization? How intense is the resistance to it? Would the resistance of certain parties-in-interest be likely to attenuate the advantages inherent in the organization form? Are there significant practical problems in implementing a given form of district organization? Would political repercussions from adopting it be likely to threaten the financial support of the school system?

C. Brief Descriptions of the Alternative Forms of District Organization Considered

Four general families of district organization were studied. These were:

(A) Buttress and extend the present organization of the LAUSD.

(B) Divide the LAUSD into approximately 20 smaller independent unified school districts.

(C) Decentralize selected administrative functions within the LAUSD and provide for advisory councils at local levels.

(D) Reorganize by establishing subdistricts, each with its own elected policy board to which specific, limited powers are delegated, and decentralize selected administrative functions to those subdistrict boards.

"A" Family--Buttress and extend the present organization of the LAUSD.

There are two major alternatives within the "A" family of district organization. One is to leave the district organization the same, thereby implying that there is no need for change in district size, quality of output, governance and policy-making, administrative structure and functions, and involvement of parents and community groups. Advocates of this alternative say that problems encountered by the district are due mainly to

difficulties in communicating effectively with various parties-in-interest and that a vigorous public relations effort would enable various "publics" to better understand and appreciate the district's needs and achievements.

The second alternative within this "A" Family is that of improving district finances, adding resources, and upgrading its management skills. Advocates of this organization alternative hold that the form of the district organization is satisfactory, that what is needed is to buttress it and make it more effective by:

- Adding resources or reallocating effort to improve instruction and update the curriculum
- Recruiting better talent and utilizing a broader array of resource persons
- Increasing supervision
- Establishing more inservice training for administrators and staff
- Improving administrative procedures
- Enlarging and utilizing capabilities for testing, evaluation, and research and development
- Strengthening supportive services (maintenance, supplies, custodial help, clerks and secretaries)
- Adding special programs where needed

"B" Family--Divide the LAUSD into approximately 20 smaller independent unified school districts.

This family of alternatives is based on the assumptions that presently (a) the LAUSD is too big for the school system to be properly efficient and effective; (b) the Board and central office staff staff are "too far away" from the schools to be appropriately responsive to local needs; and (c) that the Board, elected at large, cannot adequately represent widely different constituencies. Arguments for such reorganization suggest that a district with an enrollment from 20,000 to 40,000 students is more "manageable" than a district nearly 20 times that size. This reorganization would eliminate the whole policy making and administrative structure of the LAUSD school system. It would raise issues regarding bonded indebtedness, tenure, teacher retirement fund vestments, possible duplication of top and upper level administrative functions and positions, and relative cost-effectiveness.

There are at least two major reorganization alternatives in this family:

1. Make each of the approximately 20 new districts completely autonomous and independent.

This means that each of the new smaller districts would have its own elected school board which would appoint its administrators, employ its teachers and support personnel, and take over all responsibilities for personnel administration (hiring, firing, negotiations, salary administration, and so on). Each would be responsible for its own curriculum and instructional programs, business management, budgeting, school construction, and so on. Each district would have its own geographically defined tax base and would finance and manage its school system as do other California unified school districts. Programs would be offered that the board and administration determined were appropriate for the students and that the citizens were willing to vote taxes to pay for. However, since the size of the property tax base in each of the 20 new districts would vary considerably, some districts would have to tax their property owners more than other districts in order to provide equal levels of expenditures per pupil.

2. Make each of the approximately 20 new districts autonomous and independent except that they all would continue to be a part of the same tax base.

This alternative (and the arguments for and against it) is the same as #1 with the exception that problems of property tax base variation among districts could be avoided. This alternative would require that criteria (and measurements based on those criteria) be established as a basis for allocating revenues from the total tax base back to each new district. This means that formulae based on enrollment, on student need, or numbers of students achieving below certain norms, etc., could be used not only for allocating available funds but also for monitoring school system achievement to certain standards. The actual allocation of revenues from the total tax base could be made by (a) an office or agency remaining from the fiscal department of the LAUSD, (b) the Office of the County Superintendent of Schools operating under policies of the County Board of Education, or (c) the State Department of Education.

"C" Family--Decentralize selected administrative functions within the LAUSD and provide for advisory councils at local levels.

This family of reorganization alternatives addresses the same problems and criticisms of the LAUSD addressed by Family "B". However, these two alternatives are based on the additional

rationale that there are certain functions which are most cost-effective when performed by a central office of a large school system:

- Large scale teacher recruitment
- Bulk or large order purchases (texts, supplies, equipment, etc.)
- Accounting
- Data processing
- Special schools and services
- Development and uniform application of evaluation instruments and a management information system
- School planning and construction
- Legal services

There are at least two reorganization alternatives within this family:

1. Move selected administrative decision-making prerogatives (particularly those relating to curriculum, instruction and staffing) and supporting services closer to the schools.

This could mean delegating more functions and responsibility to Area Assistant Superintendents in the areas they now administer; or, doing the same but decreasing the size of the areas now administered and increasing the number of such areas and Area Assistant Superintendents. It could also mean setting up even smaller attendance areas (one or two senior high schools plus their "feeder" junior high and elementary schools) as the basic area administrative unit. It should also mean delegating more responsibility and decision-making prerogatives to principals at the local school level--including that of deciding how to use an allocated amount of discretionary funds.

Decentralized and delegated functions would include curriculum development, instructional improvement, inservice training, determination of appropriate staffing patterns, limited purchasing authority, and so on. This could include the adoption of differentiated staffing or master teacher concepts at the school level with curriculum development taking place at both the school and the area levels.

If this alternative is to avoid simply adding layers of costs to the present system, it will also require giving the Area

Assistant Superintendent considerably greater responsibility and power to determine and interpret policy in his area (e.g., pupil teacher ratio, lump sum budgets, differentiated staffing, and the like). It would also require that the principal have greater responsibility and latitude in determining and interpreting the school's policy (e.g., removal of ineffective teachers, and the encouragement and adoption of changes in the classroom which would be of particular benefit to students in his school). Under this alternative the Area Assistant Superintendent or the principal could decide whether or not to use advisory groups and how they should be established.

2. In addition, decentralize some representative functions.

A second alternative form of decentralization would, in addition to decentralizing selected administrative functions and supporting services, also decentralize some representative functions by mandating locally elected advisory councils. These councils would operate in the same manner as the present advisory councils, but the members would be elected rather than appointed. Specifically, the councils would provide advice and counsel to school principals and staff regarding community response to school programs, staff performance, and student attitudes and performance. They also would represent the school to the community and reflect community attitudes and needs to the schools. Other specific powers could be chartered for the advisory councils including those of making periodic reports to the Area Assistant Superintendent and the Board, making recommendations regarding the hiring and retention of the principal and school staff, or even the prerogative of actually hiring or removing the principal.

"D" Family--Reorganize by establishing subdistricts, each with its own elected policy board to which specific, limited powers are delegated, and decentralize selected administrative functions to those subdistrict boards.

Two additional organization alternatives can be formed using combinations of the preceding alternatives. Both begin with the assumption that the present school system is too big and too centralized. However, they also add a new assumption that advisory councils are not effective because they do not have specifically designated policy powers or legal authorities to exercise. These combinations add the feature of locally elected area or subdistrict boards of education with specified, limited powers applying only to schools and administrators in the defined local area or subdistrict.

1. The first alternative in this family involves reorganization and decentralization within the LAUSD.

Under this organizational alternative a number of subdistricts (perhaps 24) would be established within the LAUSD. Each subdistrict would have its own board elected by the registered voters within the area of the subdistrict. Subdistrict boards would be delegated specific powers having to do with the determination of curriculum, instruction, staffing, and resource application within lump sum budget allocations from the LAUSD Board. It is probable that subdistrict boards also should be delegated control over the functions (staff, budgets, and materials) of school maintenance, school plant operations (custodial), and supplies warehousing allocated to the subdistrict.

Each subdistrict board would have the responsibility for hiring (and firing) its own subdistrict superintendent, who in turn would be responsible for hiring his own staff, subject to State certification requirements and with the approval of the subdistrict board, including school principals. Under policies delegated to and established by the subdistrict board the subdistrict superintendent would administer the schools within the subdistrict area. Within the limits of the subdistrict's budget allocation and with the approval of the subdistrict board, the subdistrict superintendent would establish the staffing pattern appropriate to the needs of the students and schools in the subdistrict.

Under this arrangement the LAUSD Board and central administration would retain those policy powers and administrative functions not specifically delegated to the subdistricts, including importantly, the one of allocating State funds and local tax monies to the subdistricts. Until more appropriate mechanisms are developed and tested, we suggest that monies be allocated by the central Board to the subdistricts for both Administration (budget category 100) and Instruction (budget category 200) on the basis of total student enrollment in the subdistrict. Retained as central administrative functions would be those of:

- Teacher recruitment and master contract negotiation
- Purchasing of routine supplies and distribution to storage warehouses in the subdistricts
- Budgeting procedures and accounting
- Data processing
- Special schools and services

- Development and uniform application of evaluation instruments and a mangement information system
- School planning and construction
- Legal services

Administrative and budgetary responsibility should be retained by the central office, at least until a detailed plan has been worked out for delegation of specific items, for activities in the budget categories of Health Services (400), Pupil Transportation (500), Fixed Charges (800), Food Services (900), Community Services (1100), Capital Outlay (1200), Debt Service (1300), and Outgoing Transfers (1400).

In keeping with the philosophy of administrative decentralization and improved representation inherent in this organizational alternative, elected advisory councils should be mandated at the local school level. School principals should be delegated increased latitude and responsibilities. Acting with the advice and counsel of the school advisory council and under the general supervision of the subdistrict superintendent, the principal should exercise expanded prerogatives for determining the allocation of resources within the school, the nature of curriculum and instruction, and the hiring, placement, salary levels (within defined limits), utilization, and release of school staff.

We recommend that subdistricts be comprised of the attendance areas of two high schools, their two to four feeder junior high schools, and the 15 to 20 feeder elementary schools. These combinations would result in 24 subdistricts within the LAUSD, each containing approximately 27,000 students in grades K-12.

2. The second alternative in this family involves reorganization and decentralization within the whole of Los Angeles County.

Under this organizational alternative the geographical scope of the reorganization effort would be significantly enlarged. The entire LAUSD Board and central administrative apparatus would be eliminated and all those functions and responsibilities not specifically delegated to subdistrict boards and their administrations would be relocated at the county level. This means that the Office of the County Superintendent of Schools would need to be significantly expanded and that either the County Board of Education or a new policy board at that level would take over all functions of the LAUSD Board which were not delegated to subdistrict boards.

In addition, other school districts in the County would also be similarly reorganized. Subdistricts would be formed from high

school (and their feeder schools) attendance areas in modules of approximately 20,000 to 35,000 students. The same responsibilities would be delegated to the subdistrict boards and their administrations as were described in the discussion of the first alternative in this family. Those responsibilities and functions of present district school boards which were not delegated to subdistricts would be transferred to the county level. All subdistricts would be unified (grades K-12). Those districts with less than two high schools (plus feeder junior high and elementary schools) would be merged with adjoining high school attendance areas into a subdistrict comprising approximately 20,000-35,000 students.

The tax base for the district would be all of Los Angeles County. Based on recent figures of assessed valuation of property, the assessed valuation per student in average daily attendance (ADA) for the whole County is somewhat less than the assessed valuation per student in ADA for the LAUSD. However, adjusting the tax effort and commingling the tax monies from all districts in the County and reallocating them to subdistricts on the basis of student enrollment would result in a much more equitable process than is true at present.

D. Comparisons of District Reorganization Alternatives when Tested Against the Six Criteria

Exhibit II-1 shows in tabular form how each reorganization alternative (or family of alternatives) rates on each of the six criteria: quality education, representation in decision-making, integration, cost, accountability, and implementability.

Neither of the alternatives based on keeping the present form of organization in the LAUSD (Family "A") rates well on the criteria. Virtually no one wants to see the LAUSD stay the same. There is considerable dissatisfaction with the quality of education afforded in the LAUSD. Teachers, administrators, Board members, and Los Angeles citizens generally want the quality of education improved, but they differ considerably in their views of <u>how</u> improvement should be effected. A very small minority of our contacts and respondents believe that simply providing more funds will solve the key problems and thus enable the LAUSD to improve the quality of education offered in the schools. While few others share this view, a significant majority of our contacts firmly believe that increased funding (and from revenue sources other than the local property tax) is an absolute must, regardless of what else is done. They express resentment toward the Legislature for not funding "its rightful 50 percent" of the District's education costs and they often mention that while the LAUSD contains 15 percent of the State's public school students, it receives only 8 percent of the State aid.

Exhibit II-1

	FAMILY A		FAMILY B		FAMILY C		FAMILY D	
	Keep Present Organization Form		Divide LAUSD Into Approx. 20 Independent Districts		Decentralize LAUSD		Reorganize to Subdistricts Having Local Governing Boards	
	Stay the same	Add resources	Completely independent	Completely independent but share tax base	Administratively only	Administratively & Representationally	Within LAUSD	On Los Angeles County basis
QUALITY EDUCATION	Poor and little likelihood of improvement.	Some likelihood of improvement.	Improved local definition of and responsiveness to particular needs.		Improved potential to deliver a quality education.	Improved ability to define needs & potential to deliver quality education.	Improved definition of & responsiveness to particular needs plus enhanced capability to deliver a quality education.	
REPRESENTATION	Inadequate for many parties at interest.		Significantly improved ability to have nearly all parties at interest represented at policy level. Provides sanctions for assuring accountability.		Almost totally inadequate for most parties.	Improved possibility to present views needing representation. Doesn't assure accountability.	Significantly improved ability to have all parties at interest represented at relevant policy levels. Provides sanctions for assuring accountability.	
INTEGRATION	Difficult, but can be accomplished in Gittelson terms.		As a practical matter, this alternative would deny any workable means of integration for overall area presently within LAUSD.		Difficult, but can be accomplished in Gittelson terms.	Difficult but accomplishable -- puts commuting burden on advisory council members.	Difficult but accomplishable -- puts commuting burden on elected area & local board members.	Eases task in terms of Gittelson Ruling -- puts commuting burden on elected area & local board members.
COST	Present base line.	Greater cost and diminishing returns.	Replication of various centralized functions and services would increase cost per student. Output per dollar would probably increase slightly.		Substantial degree of reorganization is possible at no increase in cost.		Substantial degree of reorganization is possible at no increase in cost.	Encounters substantial one-time starting costs plus reconciliation of salary & retirement fund schedules.
					Significantly improves technical efficiency in use of funds thru direct actions improving quality of education by reallocating central staff resources or their equivalents closer to schools.		Significantly improves technical efficiency in use of funds thru direct actions improving quality of education by reallocating central staff resources or their equivalents closer to schools.	
ACCOUNTABILITY	Poor in social, political, and educational senses of accountability. Financial accountability could be improved.		Improved social, political, educational and financial accountability.		Poor in social & political sense; educational and financial accountability is capable of significant improvement.	Acceptable to some parties at interest in educational, social, political, & financial senses of accountability.	Optimally effective degree of educational, social, political & financial accountability among the various alternatives.	
IMPLEMENTABILITY	Citizens and professionals oppose.	Minimal effort required but support and funding unlikely.	Very difficult; coalition of citizens oppose this possibility.	Very difficult to assure intent carried out unless LAUSD board is maintained as money allocating board.	Minimal effort required but substantial coalition of citizens think selected advisory committees are inadequate & unworkable.	Relatively easy to implement socially & politically but will require considerable energy to assure that spirit as well as letter of intent is achieved.	Relatively easy to implement socially & politically. Accountability function will more likely assure that spirit as well as letter of intent is achieved.	Communities not in LAUSD likely to oppose strongly. They will have support from teachers, administrators and some taxpayers.

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Recent defeats in school tax override elections can be interpreted in at least two ways: voters are disenchanted with the education they are paying for, or they are refusing to pay more for education through their property taxes until the State shares more of the burden. Regardless of the explanation, the students are the ones who are being short-changed.

When judged by the quality of output, the quality of education afforded in the LAUSD leaves a good deal to be desired. Only 16 of its 47 high schools demonstrate reading test scores at or above the median for the United States; and only one of those 16 schools enrolls more than 20 percent minority students. In 1968, 40 percent of its high schools were graduating fewer than 70 percent of their first year entering students. Of the 151 elementary schools enrolling 85 percent or more white students, only 58 show median third grade reading scores equal to or above the United States median. Of the 132 elementary schools enrolling 85 percent or more black or Spanish surname students, only one school had a third grade median reading score equal to the United States median.

A content analysis of the five public hearings conducted by the Joint Committee in January and February, 1970, indicated a pervasive unhappiness with the quality of education in the schools of the LAUSD. Approximately 50 percent of the speakers were totally dissatisfied with the educational achievement of the schools. Money was frequently mentioned as a contributing problem, but many speakers felt that the District's enormous size and its organizational inflexibility (inability to respond differentially in accordance with varying needs) were key problems.

In our judgment, increased funding of the present organization would produce some improvement in quality of education, but inefficiencies, and shortcomings in representation and in the social, political and educational senses of accountability would attenuate the value received (in terms of improved quality of education) from additional funding of the LAUSD in its present organizational form.

Aside from shortcomings with respect to the quality of education criterion, the most serious deficiency in the present organization form is inadequate representation. While most Board members and a number of administrators and teachers do not feel that strongly about the generally admitted deficiency, parents and citizen opinion leaders do, particularly those with low incomes in the black and brown communities. Transcripts of the Joint Committee's five public hearings showed that many parents find the schools reacting negatively toward their involvement, but they also feel the need to make the schools more responsive to their children's needs. This feeling was stronger among minorities than among middle class whites.

We strongly recommend the rejection of the proposition that the LAUSD retain its present organization form; additional State funding should be contingent upon significant change in district organization. However, mandating district reorganization without the provision of additional funding is not likely to produce expected benefits.

The "B" Family of district reorganization alternatives (dividing the LAUSD into approximately 20 smaller independent unified school districts) rates very well on the criteria of representation and accountability, fairly well on the criterion of quality education, not so well on the criterion of cost, and flunks out on the criteria of integration and implementability.

Dividing the LAUSD into approximately 20 smaller districts would result in districts with enrollments of approximately 30,000-35,000 students. Having elected boards for each district of that size would significantly improve representation of constituencies and of affected parties-in-interest in the decision-making process. Utilizing local school advisory councils in addition could further improve representation.

The improved representation would help upgrade the quality of education by enhancing the district's capacity to sense and respond to emerging and idiosyncratic needs. Improved accountability would also contribute to the quality of education. Detracting from quality of education is the fact that this form of reorganization would preclude the racial integration of schools throughout the area now encompassed by the LAUSD.

This form of district reorganization would result in somewhat higher current operating expenditures per student in the new districts because of the duplication of centralized administrative positions and services in each of the 20 districts. In addition, if the 20 districts each operated from its own tax base, inequities would develop in the financing of schools because of variation in assessed valuation per student and differences among districts in the amounts they would tax themselves. The initial (one time) switchover costs also would be rather high. However, because of the probable increase in quality education it is quite possible that output per dollar cost would increase slightly, at least in the short term. The qualification is added because of the intense degree of resistance to this form of district reorganization throughout the LAUSD on the part of school personnel and laymen alike. At least 58 percent of the speakers at the five public hearings who addressed the issue opposed splitting up the District. If mandated, this form of district reorganization probably would generate political repercussions and a lack of support for the new school districts, at least in some areas.

We strongly recommend the rejection of the proposition to reorganize the LAUSD by dividing it into a number of smaller independent unified school districts.

The first district reorganization alternative in the "C" Family is that of decentralizing selected administrative functions and responsibilities (related primarily to curriculum, instruction, staffing, and other supporting services such as maintenance and plant operation, which already are decentralized to the eight area offices in the LAUSD), and permitting principals and Area Assistant Superintendents the option of establishing local school advisory councils.

At the present time in the LAUSD one Associate Superintendent for Secondary Education supervises four Area Assistant Superintendents who in turn supervise a total of 131 secondary school principals (a ratio of one supervisor to 32 principals). One Associate Superintendent for Elementary Education now supervises eight Area Assistant Superintendents who in turn supervise a total of 435 elementary school principals (a ratio of one supervisor to 54 principals!).

The extent of the administrative decentralization we suggest here is much greater than that envisioned by LAUSD administrators. They plan only four, or perhaps up to eight, administrative areas while we recommend 24. We suggest organizing the administrative unit around two senior high schools, their two to four feeder junior high schools, and the 15 to 20 feeder elementary schools. Each Area Assistant Superintendent would then be responsible for approximately 25,000-30,000 students in grades K-12 located in from 20 to 26 schools. (Administrative areas could be reduced in size to cope more effectively with high concentrations of problems.)

When tested against the criteria, this first district reorganization alternative (administrative decentralization and possible representational decentralization via optional advisory councils) in Family "C" rates very well against the criterion of cost, fairly well on the criterion of integration, just fair on the criterion of accountability, fairly poor on the criterion of implementability, and very poor on the criterion of representation.

If advisory councils are optional, it is unlikely that they would be established in every school, particularly in those schools that may need them most. Even if they are established, they frequently are little more effective than PTA groups in facilitating representation. With no sanctioning power or legal charter they often are impotent and citizens then tend to lose interest and drop out.

It is possible under this organizational arrangement to develop a high degree of financial and administrative/educational accountability, i.e., accountable to administrative superiors for meeting specified educational and financial objectives. However, accountability in a social and political sense (to community or lay agencies outside the administrative fraternity) is relatively lacking except possibly through published reports which some supervisors may not want to make public.

Integration is no more or less difficult under this organization alternative than it is at present.

A significant degree of decentralization is possible at no increase in the current operating expenditures per student, and one time startup costs would be low. Using the expenditures for fiscal year 1968-69 and the organization chart for the same year, it was possible to identify central and area office positions and expenses which, when either transferred or eliminated, would "free up" approximately $11,400,000 to fund or staff a more decentralized operation. Potential changes were "priced out" only in the Divisions of Elementary and Secondary Education, the Instructional Planning Branch (and a few other positions) in the Division of Instructional Planning and Services, and selected functions of the Child Welfare and Attendance Branch of the Division of Auxiliary Services. Budget categories included in this exercise were those only of Administration (100) and Instruction (200). (It must be noted that several budget cuts and organizational changes have been made since the end of the 1968-69 fiscal year. Therefore, it is unlikely that a similar amount of "savings" or transferrable staff would be available today.)

The sum of $11,400,000 would provide $475,000 or its equivalent in staff and/or expenses for each of 24 administrative areas in the LAUSD.

The decentralization of central staff (or their equivalents) closer to the schools can significantly improve the technical efficiency in the use of resources thus upgrading quality of education with no increase in unit (per student) costs.

This reorganization alternative affords improved <u>potential</u> to deliver quality education (through integration, technical efficiency in resource allocation and control, and improved accountability in the financial and educational senses of the term); however, it does not assure the fulfillment of that potential because of inadequate representation and poor social and political accountability.

Most of the people who believe the LAUSD is now adequately serving the educational needs of students (these people tend to

be white, middle class, and from outlying areas, as observed in our discussion groups and in the five public hearings) favor this reorganization alternative because, in effect, it promises more of the same only better. Similarly, those who would like to leave education to the educators tend to prefer this alternative. However, there is a substantial and active coalition of citizens supported by a surprising number of teachers (62 percent) who disagree with the idea that community participation is best facilitated through advisory councils established by the principal.

Since our findings, in this study, as well as others, support the latter view, and since administratively decentralized decision-making frequently becomes centralized again unless outside sanctions can be combined with social and political accountability processes, we recommend that the reorganization alternative of administrative decentralization be eliminated from further consideration.

The second alternative in Family "C" (administrative and representational decentralization) differs from the first only through the addition of mandated elected advisory councils at the local school level. The mandate should specify that lay members outnumber school staff by at least a ratio of two to one, and that parents of students in the school elect the lay members and teachers elect the school staff members. As indicated earlier in the description of this alternative, the mandated advisory councils can be chartered to discharge various functions up to and including choosing and releasing the principal.

This second alternative meets all six criteria at least fairly well, and it meets the cost criterion very well (as did the first alternative).

It represents an improvement over the first (administrative decentralization) alternative in that it enables community representatives and teaching staff to present their views more effectively. This in turn increases the school's ability to define needs, identify resources, and mobilize support for quality education.

Integration is still possible under this arrangement, although advisory council members who live in an area different than the one in which their children's school is located may have a commuting problem.

Accountability, in its social and political senses, is improved, which again contributes to quality education.

The criterion which is least well met by this alternative is representation. Advisory councils, even though elected from various constituencies and even though chartered with certain functions or responsibilities, are still advisory. Rarely are any administrators accountable to them and the sanctions they are able to apply have little force. Thus, it is often possible for them to have little influence on what goes on in a school if the principal does not care to listen. However, chartering elected advisory councils by law to carry out certain functions or to discharge specific prerogatives is very likely to increase their influence and thus their representation.

This alternative ranks high on the criterion of implementability. There is generally widespread intergroup support for it. Nearly 70 percent of the teachers surveyed favored it. While nearly half of the participants in community discussion groups favored this alternative, the other half wanted to move further to a policy board at the local level. Nevertheless, 68 percent favor an election process to determine who shall be involved in the representational process at the local school level. The small amount of opposition to this alternative was based on the belief that advisory councils are too weak to do what is needed.

Since this reorganization alternative of decentralizing administratively and representationally via elected advisory councils meets all six criteria at least fairly well, we recommend it to the Joint Committee for serious consideration.

At least one (the first) of the district reorganization alternatives in the "D" Family is also strongly recommended for serious consideration by the Joint Committee. The first alternative is to reorganize the LAUSD by establishing subdistricts, each with its own elected policy board to which specific, limited powers are delegated by law, and decentralize selected administrative functions to those subdistrict boards.

This alternative rates significantly better than all others on the important criterion of representation. It not only provides for an elected board with (limited) policy powers at the subdistrict level, it also should mandate elected advisory councils for the local schools. Thus it has increased capacity to sense educational needs and reflect community aspirations and it also has the legal power to modify curriculum, instruction, and staffing patterns to meet those needs. Its ability to deliver quality education is further enhanced by its significantly increased power to assure accountability, especially at local school and subdistrict levels.

Its ability to meet the integration criterion is no better or no worse than that of the other recommended alternative. The same

is true of its ability to meet the cost criterion: a significant degree of decentralization of administrative functions having to do with curriculum and instructional development can be accomplished with no increase in current operating expense per student.

Since community involvement in and support for the schools can be expected to increase under this alternative, it should enhance education quality through its positive effects on student attitudes as well as increasing public willingness to finance the schools. However, increased community involvement in the schools often results in broader realizations of need which in turn are apt to require additional resources to satisfy. In light of the testimony in the public hearings and the information from our field work regarding the lack of proper resources and funds, the demands for increased funding (and from different sources) may be expected to multiply.

The only criterion this alternative does not meet as well as does the other recommended alternative is that of implementability. The intergroup support for this reorganization is not as widespread as the support for the second alternative in the "C" Family. The teacher survey shows 35 percent in favor and 56 percent opposed. Administrators also favored the second alternative in the "C" Family. On the other hand, about half of the discussion group participants (particularly members of the black community) favored some kind of a locally elected board with policy powers. Those who didn't were afraid that "they" might take over and ruin things. But it turns out that "they" are the hard left, the hard right, and also the big spenders as well as those "who vote no on everything."

We strongly recommend this first alternative in the "D" Family to the Joint Committee for its serious consideration.

The last reorganization alternative studied is virtually the same as the first one in Family "D" except that this reorganization would encompass all school districts in Los Angeles County. The County would comprise the tax base and the County Board of Education or an elected board to supplant it would be responsible for receiving and allocating State funds and local tax monies among the newly organized subdistricts.

This reorganization alternative has several strong points and two major weaknesses. On the criteria of quality education, accountability, and representation it ranks equally high with the first "D" Family alternative. Its greatest and most unique strength lies in its capacity to facilitate integration over a much larger geographic area which includes a number of racial and ethnic concentrations which might otherwise not be affected by integration efforts.

While its technical efficiency is high in assuring productive use of resources, other cost factors make it rate low on the cost criterion. In particular, the one-time switchover cost will be very substantial:

- LAUSD administration
  - --terminations and retirements
  - --transfers
- Los Angeles County
  - --recruitment and staffing costs
  - --physical plant and equipment
  - --learning curve
- Other school districts in the County
  - --terminations and retirements
  - --unification of small districts

This countywide reorganization alternative rates quite low on the implementability criterion. The effort required for conversion will be tremendous, the confusion will be great, and the personal dislocations and traumas very significant. The resistance will be focused, intense and influential, especially in districts outside the LAUSD. The intergroup support for this reorganization seems relatively low.

In spite of its serious shortcomings on two criteria, we recommend consideration of this countywide reorganization to the Joint Committee because of its high ratings on the other criteria, particularly that of integration.

III. PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION OF RESEARCH FINDINGS[1]

A. Criteria for School District Organization

Assessments of the effectiveness of any organization, including school systems, should be based on how well that organization supports the achievement of desired results or conditions.

As a result of previous studies in the education field we had developed several criteria with which to measure the LAUSD system, as well as any proposed reorganization plan. These criteria were not only buttressed through our field work, but were also found to be subject to substantially different priorities on the part of various parties-in-interest in the school system, which is correspondingly reflected in their personal evaluations of the LAUSD organization.

The criteria initially developed and agreed upon by the Joint Committee and its Councilors included those of: (a) quality education, (b) representation in the decision-making process, (c) accountability for results, (d) cost and (e) racial integration. In detailing the criterion of accountability it was necessary to break it down further -- accountability at each major organizational level for planning, implementation of plans, and evaluation of results. This requires the development and utilization of an information system. Finally, in working closely with a variety of parties-in-interest, including community leaders and groups, teachers, administrators, board members, professional groups and associations, some of which held differing opinions, the criterion of (f) implementability, i.e., inter-group support for implementation, was recognized. Although quality of education was paramount for all parties-in-interest, strong differences in priorities occur below it: some put integration as essential in achieving quality education; a few do not see the need for representation, and so on.

As each of these desired criteria or conditions is discussed below, it will become clear that these criteria are not unrelated. In fact, there is a high degree of interrelationship among several of the criteria. Thus, in evaluating organizational forms against these criteria, it should be noted that those alternatives which fail to meet two or more of the accepted criteria are significantly weakened in their capacity to meet other criteria.

1. Quality Education

Since the purpose of a school system is to instill knowledge and learning in children, the logically overriding criterion is the quality of the output (i.e., the children's education).

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[1] For the interested reader, Appendix A presents the research approach and a brief description of the tasks undertaken.

However, a description of what constitutes "quality" and how it is to be measured meaningfully becomes a thorny issue. There are individuals who perceive the education system as a manufacturing organization, where output should be uniform, subject to precise measures and standards, and where all children have the same learning rates, the same capabilities for learning, and the same needs to be met. Across the country, education systems have been set up with those premises in mind. However, over the past decade or more, increasing attention has been paid to a different type of output: one that recognizes individual differences in children and seeks to maximize the learning experience for all children so that each child has absorbed the most he can at each level in the education system. This would mean, for example, that the bright student could expand his horizons beyond those of his classmates. Measuring the quality of differing outputs is difficult, however, and open to criticism and controversy.

In discussing this criterion, we use it in the second sense, mentioned above: that quality education must be "individualized". Both the need to "individualize" education and to assure the system facilitates "efficient delivery" of education have strong management implications. Managing the efficient delivery of individualized instruction means arranging to provide, at minimum cost and effort, every student with the learning experiences which are uniquely appropriate for him. It means accommodating to individual differences among students and being able to respond sensitively to each student in light of his own background of experience, interests, range of capabilities, and profile of educational needs.[2]

If students manifest some atypical educational needs or personal or cultural characteristics, the local school principal (and teachers) should have the managerial prerogatives of differentially (and efficiently) allocating available resources in possibly unique ways to most effectively serve those needs and relate to student or cultural characteristics without disadvantageously affecting other students and their needs. The efficient delivery of individualized education is contingent on the existence of considerable local managerial latitude in the use of available resources to meet local conditions as well as emerging and possibly disparate patterns of educational needs.[3]

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[2] Bruner, Jerome S., Toward a Theory of Instruction, Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1966, pp. 40-42.

[3] Haskins, Kenneth, "The Case for Community Control", Saturday Review, June 11, 1969; and "The Program Designs Required to Provide Effective Education for Poor Deprived Children", Seminar on Educating the Disadvantaged, The University of Wisconcin, April 1969, This was also a repeated theme in discussions with parents and principals.

However, as local managerial prerogatives are expanded and increased latitude and responsibility are assigned to the principal and teachers of a local school, there is an increased need for insuring that such prerogatives are being exercised in responsible ways and that resources are in fact being used to achieve desired and beneficial results. This "check and balance" criterion is called accountability. It is based upon the use of an information system, and upon the intelligent use of "feedback" information by parties whose interests are affected by the outcomes of district-wide programs as well as by the results of locally developed plans and decisions regarding the use of available resources. This criterion of accountability is discussed in more detail starting on page III-15.

Quality education should also be defined in other ways. Of critical importance is the effect of the system on the students and their behavior. If learning experiences are sensitively attuned to student needs and interests, the results should be evident in student attitude and performance. More students will learn to like learning and their attitudes toward school generally become more positive. Motivation should improve and achievement scores rise. Student unrest, dropouts, absenteeism, and vandalism should decrease.[4]

If instruction is to be truly individualized in the classroom, a variety of options must be provided to students, teachers and the principal. There must be flexibility in scheduling, curriculum, grouping, instructional methods, and use of resource persons and specialists in order to provide each student with the learning experiences most appropriate for him at any given time. But in order for such options to be exploited to the fullest and for such flexibility to be utilized most effectively, school staff must be trained in their use. This training, largely inservice, must be designed and implemented to address specific conditions and needs in the local school(s). Thus, localized management is again essential for the efficient delivery of quality education.

Articulation of instruction between levels of schools (elementary, junior high, and senior high schools) and among schools at the same level is a characteristic problem in most school systems, even those utilizing standard curricula and specified courses of study. Theoretically, thoroughly individualized instruction would eliminate problems of articulation since the availability of flexible curriculum options and varied instructional approaches should enable the student to take up a course at his current level of achievement and proceed at his own pace regardless of his prior educational experiences. However, few school systems in the county approach this utopian situation.

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[4] See the case studies of Morgan School (Washington D.C.) and Ocean Hill-Brownsville (New York City) in Arthur D. Little, Inc., Urban Education: Eight Experiments in Community Control, (Report to Office of Economic Opportunity, October 31, 1969).

Efforts to design curricula and adapt instruction to local conditions can be expected to result in greater diversity among schools and discontinuities between levels of schools unless actions are taken to assure effective articulation and the opportunity for continuous progress. One approach is to utilize curriculum or subject matter specialists, operating from the central or area offices, to work with department heads or teachers on a district-wide or area-wide basis to assure inter-school continuity and consistency (critics say standardization and uniformity). This approach is finding increasingly less favor in large school systems because of its relatively low cost-effectiveness, because of the difficulty of involving local parents or advisory groups in decisions about curriculum and instruction, and because the traveling specialists or their supervisors are in no way accountable to the schools, parents, or advisory groups, yet, under this system, significantly influence decisions made.

Growing in acceptance is the approach involving concepts of differentiated staffing, where a few uniquely competent teachers in a school (or in a very small number of neighboring schools) are assigned (and paid extra for undertaking) specialized but part-time roles in curriculum development and adaptation, instructional improvement, and teacher development and training. Thus, while they remain as part-time teachers in a school, they also serve as specialized resource persons to the students, teachers and parents of students of that school, which means that they not only can be more sensitive to the school environment and more deeply aware of developmental needs in that school, they also tend to be more committed to the developmental process there and are likely to feel or be more accountable to the local school administrator and parents of students.

Recently, and partially as a result of the Coleman Study, it has been recognized that characteristics of the student body in a school affect educational achievement in that school. Heterogeneity (of race and socioeconomic status) is now regarded as a plus factor in enriching the educational experiences of a group of students. Tracking or homogeneous ability grouping (establishing classes by levels of student ability) is rapidly losing favor. This means that integration on the basis of race, socioeconomic status, and academic ability supports the achievement of quality education.[5]

In this discussion it is neither necessary nor appropriate to imply that quality education is dependent upon the adoption and use of particular innovations. The point is that progress toward quality education is facilitated by the adoption and use of improved educa-

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[5] Coleman, James S., Equality of Educational Opportunity, National Center for Educational Statistics, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1966, pp. 22-23.

tional concepts and methods. Further, more localized decision-making provides the flexibility for trying new approaches and selecting those that more adequately meet local needs. Efficient delivery of quality education is facilitated when innovations found to be useful in certain specific situations can be quickly disseminated to and effectively adopted in other very similar situations.

2. Representation

The issue of representation -- or more accurately, the lack of it -- in governing and decision-making processes is of critical and contemporary importance. Of particular importance to the considerations of the Joint Committee is the issue of non-representation in the functioning of school boards (either elected or appointed) of very large cities. As stated in another Arthur D. Little report:

> "The school board, whether elected or appointed is supposed to somehow represent someone in their role as a school board member. The question is whether or not the appropriate persons are being represented in an effective manner. In earlier times, the local school superintendent faced a local board and the board was comprised of persons who knew one another, as well as the superintendent and the various parents of the children enrolled in the school system. We still have some of these small school districts in existence in the United States today. Under such circumstances, there was far less question of whether or not the various people were being represented. They were being communicated with and issues were being discussed between board members, lay public, and the superintendent as well as the teachers."

> "As we moved to a more . . . [urban] society, we found a second stage wherein the community was then too large for the board member to have any effective relationship with a substantial proportion of the parents. But, the community was (and in some instances still is) homogeneous in the sense that primarily white collar and professional people tend to live in a given suburb, the board members tend to be of those kinds of persons, and they understand very readily the professionalized white collar approach to the educator. Under these circumstances, the implicit assumptions and value systems of the school board members and of the community at large tend to be ordered in the same fashion so that while there is no strict representation in its true form (i.e., communication and discussion of the issues with the involved

constituents in the system) there is nevertheless a basic congruence. One can at least say 'he is like me and therefore will probably tend to represent my wishes and interests as a school board member.'"

"As the community becomes even larger, the situation begins to fragment seriously. The persons living in the area are no longer a homogeneous group. They represent a variety of value systems, priorities of values, degree of participation in the community and so forth. Now, there is a real question as to whether or not the school board member (who tends to be an older professional person) in fact represents any one other than himself, the person who provided for his nomination and/or election to the board, and in some indirect sense those few other persons who happen to hold the same value priorities as he does. In these circumstances, there is a serious issue of non-representation. It appears to be based on three basic shortcomings of the system and the . . . [urban] environment:

a. The lack of organization of particular subsets of the community. This is the case where there are a variety of persons, all having the same unrepresented needs, but not enough commonality of social interaction or communication so as to organize for communication to one or more of the school board members. Under these circumstances, this group will not be represented unless one or more of the school board members goes out of his way to find out what is not being reflected in their policy decisions so as to meet the needs of these particularized groups. This will be an unusual act of initiative since it involves volunteering to help a group which can neither help nor hurt him. He must do this in the face of all the pressures for conformity we have outlined above. The alternative is for some outside source to provide the measure to organize this sector of the community as has been done by organizing poor in certain situations and the Black militants in others.

b. Lack of political process. As the school board is typically a "non-political" institution, and tends to run at large in the community as opposed to being tied to a specific ward or territory, the candidates cannot focus on a specific constituency so as to represent a particular point of view other than that of the majority's point of view. A particularized constituency such as an ethnic group which tends to be concentrated in certain zones of the city, cannot bring to bear any redress or reward by threatening to vote for or against any particular school board member. This is further compounded by the fact that being non-political, a school board member often then does not have any strength in dealing with city hall and other elected officials so as to obtain appropriate changes in tax bases or site locations or facilities planning in coordination with the Department of Roads, to cite one example. Thus when they do have a point to represent they are oftentimes rendered impotent in dealing with other officials who have a much stronger and more particular sense and base of political power.

c. The lack of knowledge problem. This has to do with the communications problem arising from the constraint of "planned ignorance" which . . . This was aided and abetted by the fact of a professionalized language used by school administrators and other professional personnel which make it difficult for the laymen or the various constituencies to understand what is being talked about and to understand the consequences of various alternative programs. The alternative programs are seldom defined or presented in terms of their benefits or actual performances on behalf of the children in school system. This leads to a lack of interest on the part of various board members who find it difficult to communicate between the two sides of the situation."[6]

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[6] Arthur D. Little, Inc., School Board Representation of Disadvantaged Clientele (Report C-70432 to Office of Economic Opportunity, December 1968), pp. 21-23.

Not only is it important to assure that policy makers get an accurate and representative sense of the pattern of educational needs existing in the district -- including intensities of need -- for the purpose of setting priorities and "fine tuning" policy, but it is also important that the board and the public receive accurate "feedback" information regarding: (a) the ways priorities are being acted upon and policies are being implemented by the administrative apparatus; (b) the actual effects of such actions and implementation; and (c) requirements for further modification and change.

The principle of representation as it applies to decision-making in school systems implies that those who will be importantly affected by a decision should be able to register clearly their views with the decision-making agency and influence the nature of the decision in accordance with the proportion of parties-in-interest taking a given position or the degree of good or ill that may result to one or more of the parties-in-interest from the decision. There are several other principles which are corollary to the one stated.

a. Effective representation requires involvement of the various parties-in-interest in exploration of issues and in the determination of priorities and maximally beneficial actions.

b. Involvement cannot be sustained unless the power to influence decisions and action is effectively shared with representatives of the parties-in-interest.

c. Policy decisions affecting the areas containing heterogeneous groups tend to be focused on the needs and desires of the majority and are often inadequately responsive to the unique needs of minority groups.

d. Short of confrontation tactics individuals or groups not representing majority interests find it difficult to make an impact on a large, complex bureaucratic system even if they represent a substantial minority. The inertia of such a system and the degree to which responsibility and accountability seems to be diffused through such a system and result in an accumulation of pressures and demands for action or redress at the top of the system.

Advisory committees and councils have been used both in Los Angeles and elsewhere (New York City, for example) in attempts to provide for additional involvement of members of the community in plans and activities of the schools. Although experience with these advisory groups is mixed, most appear to be ineffective.[7] Some seem to work acceptably when the principal arranges for broadly representative membership and he and the school staff are responsive to the advice given. However, there is growing disenchantment with such advisory groups on three different counts: (a) principals may elect now to have such a group, or they may constitute such groups from members of the community they regard as "safe" and supportive, thus frustrating those who would like to bring about some change; (b) as chartered, advisory groups have no power to insist on change even at the local school level if the principal decides to ignore the group's advice; and (c) if the principal agrees with the advice and would like to implement it, such changes can be and often are frustrated in the administrative system above him, because they are in apparent conflict with a generalized and difficult to modify policy which may not be appropriate to the situation in that school.[8]

In light of the representation problems cited above, it is important that steps be taken at local levels to insure responsive and responsible action in the schools. Quality education should address the educational needs of the local community and reflect the aspirations and interests of parents whose children are attending school, of the students themselves, and also the knowledge and insight of professionals trained to develop students' learning skills and to stimulate their intellectual and personal development. Further, administrators of schools or a zone of schools should be able to influence the nature and extent of resources and services made available to them in accordance with the relative need of the schools or zone. Accordingly, reorganization alternatives which rank high on the criterion of representation will afford opportunities for:

a. Parents to influence the management of the schools and the nature and quality of the educational experiences afforded by the school(s) in their locality.

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[7] Rogers, David, 110 Livingston Street, New York: Random House, 1968, pp. 370-384.

[8] Project 18 advisory committee evaluation and discussion groups.

b. Parents and students to influence the quality of the teaching/learning environment in the local school(s).

c. Parents to become involved enough in school activities to support the school functions and positively influence their children's attitude toward school.

d. School personnel to communicate effectively about the needs of schools and the results of school programs so that voters can make informed decisions about supporting the schools.

e. The principal and teachers of a school to accurately reflect to responsible boards and higher administrative echelons the requirements for differentiated allocations of resources in accordance with the assessed needed of that school.

f. School system personnel to obtain prompt, fair, and objective hearings and action regarding grievances.

3. Cost

The criterion of "cost" is frequently raised from all quarters, including board members, citizens, legislators, and teachers. However, the consideration of costs can become thoroughly confusing unless basic concepts and definitions are clearly stated and adhered to in the course of any evaluation. In heated exchanges among parties-in-interest regarding the subject of "costs", the parties are rarely discussing the same costs -- the home-owning parent is thinking in terms of his property tax costs, the legislator is thinking in terms of the appropriation from the State's general fund, and the board member is concerned with the cost of resources such as teachers' salaries. For comparative purposes, the relevant perspective is the latter, namely, resource costs. In comparing resource costs there are several measurement concepts necessary:

a. Unit Costs

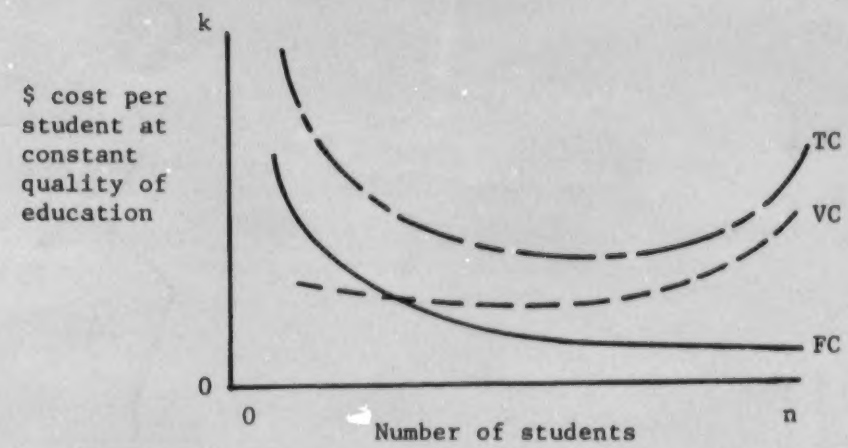
This term refers to the total cost of all resources used per unit of output. It is generally determined by dividing the total annual operating cost of a school system by the total number of students served for that year and expressed as the cost per student as students' enrollments are likely to change during the year because of transfer, dropout or graduation at midyear in some systems, or, more typically, the cost per average daily attendee.

b. Economies of Scale of Operation

As the total annual operating cost is made up of fixed annual components which do not change as a direct function of the number of students (e.g., superintendent's salary, interest on indebtedness, etc.) and those which do vary (materials, textbooks, teachers, etc.), the unit costs of the overall system will vary according to the numbers of students. If we diagram these costs they will appear as shown in the following exhibit.

Exhibit III-1

Costs, by Number of Students



The line identified as FC represents fixed costs per unit. Where the number of students is small, the fixed cost per student will be high; where the number is large, the fixed cost per student will be low.

The VC line refers to variable costs per unit which, at some point, will begin to increase for a variety of reasons such as the use of portable classrooms when buildings become full, increasing amounts of time and material devoted to coordination, increasing costs of maintenance and repair, etc.

Finally, the line labeled TC refers to total costs per unit which merely reflect the vertical addition of FC per unit and VC per unit at each point on the scale of the number of students.

The question of whether a system is achieving its economy of scale is whether the school organization is operating at or near the lowest point on the TC curve.

c. Technical Cost Efficiency

As is seen in the diagram above, the total cost curve (TC) is the result of fixed and variable costs. Its shape as well as height or level is determined by the shapes and heights of the VC and FC curves. Their shapes and heights are, in turn, determined by the way in which resources are organized. For example, the variable cost curve is primarily comprised of certificated and classified personnel salaries, consequently, an increase in the pupil-teacher ratio will substantially lower the entire curve and a decrease will raise it. Similarly, a combination of certificated and non-certificated personnel in the classroom (with no change in the pupil-teacher ratio, considering non-certificated personnel as teachers), and construction of additional classroom space where needed will change the shape of the total cost curve by lowering and flattening the VC curve and raising the FC curve. Therefore, the technical cost efficiency question is whether a different organization of resources will yield a higher or lower total unit cost while providing the same quality of output; or, conversely, whether it will yield higher or lower quality of education at the same total unit cost.

The preceding are overall measurement concepts treating the education system as a producer of only one product, namely education. Furthermore, the concepts treat the "goods in the manufacturing process" (i.e., the students) being equal in the sense that each requires the application of the same amount and kind of resources (books, teachers, transportation, etc.) to yield the same unified product (i.e., an "educated" student). We know however that such is not the case for we tend to produce several educational products: students prepared for college; students prepared for a vocation; and students prepared to be responsible citizens. Hopefully the latter is included in both of the former. Similarly, we tend to have significant differences among the "goods in process" which require different resources to yield equivalent educational products. For example, non-English-speaking students require different resources in the form of specialized teachers (ESL) and texts if they are to meet the quality standards upon completion of their education. These aspects are treated in the section above on quality education. For these reasons, differences in students and the natures of the completed educations, we must introduce a fourth concept.

d. Allocational Cost Efficiency

If we take the preceding three concepts, unit costs, economy of scale, and technical cost efficiency, and, rather than apply them to the total education system as if it had one type of student and one product, apply them to each different group of students and type of education, we have the situation similar to a manufacturer producing several different products using different manufacturing methods and materials. The problem now is to determine how to allocate resources, in view of different unit costs, efficiencies of scale, and technical cost efficiencies so the overall system can be viewed as producing all products in the optimally efficient and effective manner. For example, education of the emotionally disturbed, the mentally retarded, and the physically handicapped, requires highly specialized and costly resources and their incidence in the population is fairly small. Consequently, tne scale of operation in terms of total student population might be most efficient in a system with an ADA of 80,000 to 100,000. On the other hand, the education of children to be responsible citizens might be most efficiently handled in a system with an ADA of 10,000. The problem of allocating resources (teachers for both kinds of education, schools for each, transportation for handicapped students, and different materials and supplies) and organizing them to achieve the technical cost efficiencies in each so the total system realizes the scale economies possible while achieving quality standards is the key problem of school system administration. The objective of the Program Planning and Budgeting System of accounting is to measure the allocational costs so they can be evaluated and managed in this fashion.

Finally, while not specifically a cost criterion item, a mention of the other side of the equation, quality requirements, must be made. In free market operations such as those approximated in the supermarket, each person can purchase the quality wanted and pay the appropriate price. To a certain extent this is true in education, one can enroll one's children in a private school or move to a different school system which offers a different quality. Where open market opportunities exist, unacceptable levels of quality for a given price are fairly quickly rejected (i.e., no one buys them as other products give a better value for the price). In education the process is considerably slower, partly because the measurement of quality is considerably more difficult for the purchasers, partly because the final product results long after the beginning of the process, and partly because without an open market mechanism appropriate qualities must be negotiated via parents, teachers, administrators, school boards, tax and board elections, hearings, and legislative processes. Therefore, while the open market situation tends to bring about

reorganization and reallocation of resources by the producing organization based on revenue (sales) and cost relationships, purchasers of public education find it difficult to reduce the producer's revenues by purchasing a preferred and identifiable product. Note that the alternative product may be more costly but also of considerably better quality. It is this choice, generally unavailable in education, except for a relatively affluent minority, which brings about changes in the cost and quality relationships. In fact, in public education it is possible to enter into a negative cycle where purchasers (taxpayers and legislators), not willing to accept the present quality find their only effective recourse is to vote against increasing the revenues because they fear that it will only be reflected in an increase of costs without an increase in quality. The next step in the cycle is for the school system, faced with rising resource costs, to further reduce quality rather than reallocate resources in a technically efficient manner -- thus the stage is set for another negative cycle. With the lack of the open market mechanism, this side of the equation must be handled by the use of PPBS accounting methods and a clear representation of all parties-in-interest throughout the processes of negotiating cost and quality relationships to which school administrators must be held publicly accountable. (See the preceding and next sections on Representation and Accountability.)

In conclusion, the cost criterion can be summarized by stating that a school district organization will be judged as meeting the criterion if it is allocating its resources to various students' needs and the types of education produced so as to realize the technical cost efficiencies possible, thus allowing an optimal total unit cost while delivering an acceptable quality of education. And, a less stringent but more workable criterion, reorganization and reallocation of resources is to be preferred if it delivers greater quality at the same total unit cost.

4. Accountability

The concept of accountability has several important dimensions:

Specification and agreement as to what is to be accomplished and in what time frame.	The planning function
The nature and extent of resources to be used in accomplishing the objectives.	The implementation function
Specification of the individual(s) or agency responsible for accomplishing the objectives.	
The means (instruments or indicators) of assessing accomplishment.	The evaluative function
The person, group, or agency with sanctioning power to whom the results are to be reported.	The accountability application function

The concept of performance accountability has found acceptance and use in business and industry (management by objectives) but only recently has it been applied to schools. School systems frequently make generally stated commitments such as "Every child shall be provided with an adequate education," but all too often "adequate education" is defined in terms of input resources, e.g., teachers, dollars, books, plant and equipment. Only rarely, and recently, has "adequate education" come to be defined in output terms, i.e., student learning. And even less frequently has that output been systematically related to the costs and alternative ways of producing student learning of specified kinds and degrees.

Any organization form should be considered in light of the ways in which it facilitates or inhibits applications of the concept of accountability. Several such considerations are suggested below.

- Does the organization form facilitate the definition of behavioral or learning objectives for students in specific schools?

- Is there assurance that the assessment of educational needs will be systematically carried out in each school and used in curriculum, instruction and staffing planning?

- Is there assurance of local community involvement in the assessment of educational needs in each school, in the definition of educational objectives and planning for the achievement of those objectives?

- Is responsibility specified for meeting the defined educational needs of schools, and do appropriate managerial prerogatives accompany that responsibility?

- Can adequate research and development resources be brought to bear on the development of appropriate instruments for assessing educational needs, for monitoring achievement, for diagnosing difficulties of individual students, for evaluating and reporting student achievement, and for analyzing and reporting the costs of that achievement?

- Is there latitude for schools to adopt special programs and utilize funds in discretionary ways to meet special needs?

- Are mechanisms available to assure differential allocation of educational resources to students and schools with unique requirements?

- Does the management information system provide "feedback" to local school staff on the results (including cost-effectiveness) of their efforts, and does it permit comparison of results among schools?

- Are both policy and administrative decision-making prerogatives located appropriately to make the best use of feedback information in sensitively modifying the application of resources?

Even though few, if any, school systems could answer affirmatively all the questions listed above, it is important that efforts be launched and support provided for progress in those directions. District organization should support and certainly not inhibit those developmental efforts.

There are some steps being taken now to move in the direction of greater performance accountability. The application of planning programming and budgeting systems (PPBS) to schools is being researched in California now. Several school districts are involved in pilot projects under the auspices of the State Advisory Commission on School District Budgeting and Accounting. Performance contracts are being bid and let to non-school agencies to produce specified levels of student performance within certain time, e.g., Texarkana School District with Dorset, Inc. Independent accomplishment audits are being conceived to assure that defined objectives are met.[9] A similar program is being launched in the San Diego Unified School District with SRA and another firm. But in addition to these rather grand and innovative efforts there are some steps that can be taken now to improve accountability.

One possibility is to systematically measure and report the learning achievement of each student during a specified period of time. Instead of reporting the median reading score of a class or grade (as many schools do now), the report should show the frequency distribution of the "months of achievement" attained by each student in a given number of months of instruction. It is more meaningful (in terms of stimulating appropriate action) to know that 40 percent of the students in a class achieved less than seven months of expected achievement in nine months of instruction than it is to know that the median reading score for the class was at the median for the district or state. Similar feedback could be obtained in other basic skill subjects.

Other information could be used in decisions to allocate resources differentially to schools manifesting special or particularly intense needs.[10] For example, where student transiency is high the costs of (equivalent) instruction are higher than normal and the efficiency of instruction is lower. Where a student enters an eighth grade social studies course demonstrating a fifth grade reading level, the instructional materials most appropriate for him will be different than those for most of the class.

A major problem lies in the fact that even now a principal (or his superior) does not know the elements of instructional cost applied to students, courses and classes. In general, costs are aggregated at the school level in gross categories: so much for salaries, so much (a standard amount) per pupil for instructional materials, and so on. At the present time he has little if any basis for determining what it would cost to achieve even one or two defined educational objectives. Improved cost accounting as well as student performance accounting at the school level is imperative if local school managers are to be accountable for educational cost-effectiveness.

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9 Leon Lessinger, "Accountability in Education", NCSPS News, February, 1970.

10 See Appendix G on Resource Allocation for the results of an analysis of resource allocations in a sampling of 15 elementary schools.

5. Integration

Among many educational researchers, as noted earlier, school integration to achieve heterogeneity and balance among students differing as to race, socioeconomic status and academic aptitude (as well as to improve self-images of children and a sense of control over their own destiny) is generally regarded as a valid contributor to quality education. Student heterogeneity also implies a possibility for flexibility of classroom process which is not often evidenced under present systems; facile students have demonstrated their ability to better grasp and assimilate subject matter when they are used as a teaching resource for less facile students, and thus both rote learning and comprehension take place at all levels at a faster rate under this arrangement.[11] The questions in achieving improved integration are: How? To what degree? At what cost?

Some teachers react negatively toward aptitude heterogeneity and claim it hinders their effectiveness and efficiency in the classroom; that it takes inordinate amounts of preparation time to prepare virtually two separate work plans; and that it leads to class disruption by the students to which teaching is not addressed (i.e., boredom is manifest if the level at which teaching occurs is either too high or too low). However, these arguments are somewhat parochial. Since heterogeneity, as implied by the educational researchers, implies a proper balance and mix of students, so polarity cannot occur (between a block of extremely advanced and extremely disadvantaged children, for example).

The recent ruling (subsequently being appealed) by Judge Gittelson mandated racial integration as a criterion by requiring schools in the LAUSD to achieve a racial balance of not less than 10 percent minority students and no more than 49 percent minority students, defining minority as Black and Spanish surname.

The issue of racial integration as a criterion is a very prickly issue. Different groups assign it vastly different priorities. Minority groups themselves are sharply divided as to whether integration is an overriding criterion, without which quality education is impossible, or whether quality of education can be achieved in de facto segregated schools, given proper organization (accountability, representation, and financing). Also, although many whites are genuinely concerned with integration, others do not consider it worth the cost (financially, socially, or emotionally), and still others resent it being made a criterion by court decree. Furthermore, many white parents

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[11] From a visit to the Nova elementary, secondary and community college campus in Broward County, Florida.

do not want their children to attend schools enrolling substantial numbers of minority students (often citing fears for their safety); and many minority groups, for various reasons, want to see schools their children attend taught, administered, and governed by members of their own minority group. Since less than half of any school will be bussed, both groups view with alarm the process by which children will be selected (against their will?) for bussing, (i.e., who gets selected and who doesn't?). Differences of opinion about integration and bussing were apparent in our community discussion groups.[12] The reasons for their responses are similar to citizens elsewhere,[13] primarily centering around the fact that LAUSD has limited resources and the use of such a large proportion of them cannot be justified as cost effective in producing a higher quality of education (even some minority respondents use this argument), the amount of time students will have to spend on busses, the fact that there were other ways of integrating besides bussing (this is a rationalization for those unwilling to admit disinterest in integration, since there is no other way of integration other than bussing),[14] and the assertion that the ultimate means of integration is through housing patterns, not the schools (another rationalization that has stalemated integration for decades and a central focus of the de facto segregation suits).

Some supporters of integration see attempts to reorganize large city school districts as efforts to subvert the progress of racial integration.

6. Implementability

As with any social system, no form of organization can reach its full effectiveness or its full efficiency if it is not supported at all levels and by all parties-in-interest. Student support for the system can be seen through their attendance rates, participation in school activities, the extent of vandalism in schools, and so on. Citizen support is evidenced through willingness to pay taxes for the schools, and through their

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[12] See Appendix E, Evaluation of Alternatives by Various Parties-in-Interest.

[13] Crain, Robert, The Politics of School Desegregation. Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1968.

[14] See the discussion of integration in Section III-B below.

acceptance of the quality of output of the system (do parents encourage their children in the pursuit of education? Teachers are seen as supportive of the system when they work toward school or district objectives, when they seek new and vital roles in the system, and when they seek to explain school objectives to parents and encourage interaction between parent, student and school. Principals, likewise, are supportive of the system when they exercise both leadership and control of the schools which they administer, communicating and working with their staff to achieve objectives, and establishing and implementing procedures for evaluating their success in meeting objectives.[15] And so it goes throughout all levels of organization with not only proper authority evident, but also willing assumption of responsibility. Therefore, in judging any form of organization, the questions that need to be asked are: What is the overall level of support for this organization? What groups strongly favor it, and what influence do they have on the system? What groups present strong resistance against it, and what influence do they have on the system? Will each level of organization assume proper responsibility for matters under its control, and exercise its authorities as expected?

Also involved in implementability is the magnitude of the task of planning for and implementing a given form of organization. Additional considerations if organizational change is to be implemented involve the probable general acceptance of the changeover cost of moving to a new form of organization, and also the "political cost" of adopting a new form of organization. For example, the adoption of an organization alternative unpopular to educators might result in substantial losses of personnel; adoption of an organization alternative intensely resisted by some groups might result in political coalitions to defeat legislation for school funding, tax or school bond elections, or elected officials.

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[15] For a good, detailed look at support during the IS 201 controversy, see Minter, Thomas K., Intermediate School 201, Manhattan: Center of Controversy, Cambridge, Massachusetts, June 2, 1967.

B. The Need for Reorganization

A first question to be addressed is whether a reorganization of large urban unified school districts, as exemplified by the LAUSD, is needed or, as some persons assert, the problem is merely one of obtaining more funds so the present organization may perform adequately. We have addressed this question from the viewpoints of various parties-in-interest: teachers, principals, parents and citizens, area and central administrators, and board members, all from the perspective of the ability of the present organization with or without additional funding, to meet the criteria set forth in the previous section. Throughout the various phases of study, the administration and Board of LAUSD have been thoroughly helpful, both in reviewing various study efforts and in providing key data.

In summary, our information and analyses yield the following general conclusions:

- School district reorganization in large cities is not only needed, it is imperative if improved educational quality is to be achieved. The mere addition of funds supplied to and channeled through the large, highly centralized and bureaucratic systems will yield diminishing returns where the returns are already unsatisfactory to a variety of parties-in-interest.[1]

- The present organizational form has inherent inabilities, because of that form, to fulfill effectively the criteria of quality education, representation, cost, accountability or implementability. Furthermore, the one criterion it is capable of fulfilling, integration, has not been met in a total of 17 years, while the difficulty (and hence the cost) of fulfilling that criterion has continued to increase year-by-year. These inabilities and inactions are not unknown or unnoticed by persons holding responsible positions in LAUSD, but the failure of the present organization to implement performance audits and to establish effective internal checks and balances, plus the natural

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[1] This is supported by similar studies of large urban school districts in other states. See for example, Harry A. Passow, Toward Creating a Model School System: A Study of the Washington D.C. Public Schools. (New York, Columbia Teachers College, 1967.); also Peter Schrag, Village School Downtown Boston, Beacon Press, 1967.)

inertia of a large centralized bureaucracy, have led, in the absence of sufficient outside pressure or incentive, to an increasingly lessened ability to fulfill the criteria. The sporadic attempts at self-correction, such as the 1960 reorganization study and the recently announced "decentralization plan", do not focus adequately on major deficiencies inherent in the organization form and do not go nearly far enough in resolving even those problems which are identified.

- Teachers, citizen opinion leaders, principals, central and area administrators and school board members concur that reorganization in some form is necessary and can be expected to improve the efficiency of the school system. However, mandating school district reorganization alone without improving the level of funding or changing the sources of funding runs the risk of aborting the goals of reorganization. Many citizens and personnel connected with school systems mistrust the State Legislature and are wary of the motives of the Joint Committee. They resent the actions of the Legislature in mandating new programs and change without providing funding to implement those changes; they feel that by its title and the bills which members have sponsored, the Joint Committee is more concerned with school district reorganization as an end in itself rather than as a means of improving the quality of education.[2] Any reorganization without the support of key parties-in-interest (discussed under the criterion of implementability) can never be fully effective. The Legislature must seek to deal with these issues concurrently with any reorganization effort.

The following is a discussion of the ability of the present organization form to fulfill the six criteria set forth in the preceding section.

1. Quality Education

If we begin by examining the output quality of LAUSD, we find serious deficiencies in student performance on reading tests. At the high school level, only 16 of 47 high schools have median reading scores at or above the median for the United States. Furthermore, only one of the 16 has more than

[2] See Appendix E, for an analysis of the community discussion groups.

20 percent minority children in attendance.[3] Similarly, at the early elementary level, an analysis of third grade reading scores shows that for the 151 schools having 85 percent or more white children, only 58 have a median score equal to or exceeding the United States median, while the 132 schools having 85 percent or more black and/or Spanish surname children have only one school equal to or exceeding the United States median.[4]

Measuring the present organization's output in terms of senior high school graduates also indicates serious problems. In 1967, 31 percent of all high schools in LAUSD were graduating fewer than 70 percent of their entering students. By 1968 the figure was 40 percent, as Table III-1 below indicates. Furthermore, a comparison between the two years shows a decrease of three percent in the 90 percent or more category, (which are to be found in the 80-90 percent category). Likewise, the 70-80 percent category decreased by nine percent, which are to be found in the 60-70 percent category. Moreover, none of the lower categories improved; all in all the system appears to be deteriorating in its ability to keep students through graduation.

Table III-1: Graduation Rates from LAUSD Senior High Schools

Percent of Class Graduating*	Percent of Schools in Category	
	1967	1968
90% or more	7%	4%
80-90%	22%	25%
70-80%	40%	31%
60-70%	16%	25%
50-60%	13%	13%
40-50%	2%	2%

* Adjusted for those completing graduation requirements at a later date.

Source: Los Angeles City School Districts, Auxiliary Services Division, Graduation and Attrition Rates in Los Angeles City Senior High Schools, Classes of 1967 and 1968, Report No. 296, May 1969.

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[3] Individual Elementary and Secondary School Data, State Testing Program, Fall 1968 LAUSD, Auxiliary Services Division, Measurement and Evaluation Section,(Report No. 298) pp. 41-45.

[4] Prepared exhibit submitted by Vahac Mardirosian, Chairman, Mexican American Education Commission, December 22, 1969. Data are from LAUSD Measurement and Evaluation Section, Report No. 382.

A look at the racial balance of the schools in the bottom two categories highlights the problem of minority schools: all but one school have minority students in excess of 50 percent. In fact, all but two in the bottom two categories have 99-100 percent minorities.

Beyond these few gross indicators of output quality, a considerable amount of testimonial and interview information bears directly on the effectiveness with which the educational process is managed.[5]

There is a tendency for automatic advancement from grade-to-grade which, when combined with sub-standard reading and writing skills, results in children arriving at the secondary level unable to learn as rapidly as the rate for which the curriculum is designed. This results in students who may be interested in a given subject but who are both unable to cope with the reading requirements and unable to express themselves adeuqately. Furthermore, as these students do not manage to assimilate the full curriculum in the school year, they begin the next year behind not only in the basic skills, but also in subject knowledge assumed as prerequisite. This leads, year after year, to an increasingly difficult teaching situation in the higher grades. Improvement in output indicators, normalized for each year by curriculum area highlight differences or departures from quality education and might stimulate planning for differential resource allocations to achieve defined objectives for output requirements. Technically, this can be accomplished within the present organizational form, but, since the organizational form is inherently weak in terms of accountability (see below) there is little incentive to do so.

There appears to be limited ability, or at least constraints on the ability, to define output objectives and to rearrange the application of resources in order to increase the quality of output in specific areas of need. The following example illustrates the point.

> At the beginning of the year to school had two teachers more than it should have had under the provisions of new budgetary cut-backs. Despite attempts to cover up the fact that they had these two teachers, the teachers were removed eight weeks after the

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5 See Appendixes B, Summaries of Field Work and I, Selected Evaluations of Alternatives. Further information is to be found in transcripts of hearings and individual discussion group write-ups, which are not included in this report.

school year had begun. These two English teachers had been used as reading teachers to conduct special reading classes for foreign born students who were having particular problems. Therefore, when the teachers left, each English class was increased to around 40 students as the students were allocated among all the classes, regardless of the ability of the class versus the ability of the student. This particular teacher was given two foreign born students (eight weeks after the year had begun), who were concerned enough about their plight that they went to the principal to explain that the teacher was teaching an advanced class, was going so fast that they could not keep up, that they were consequently bored, and that if something weren't done, they probably would become discipline problems to the principal. The principal explained that there was nothing he could do. He then called the English teacher in and suggested she would have to go more slowly for these students. She did not feel that her college preparatory class could afford to have such a slow down, so she ended up every night doing tow sets of exercises -- one for her two slow students and one for the rest. Thus situation is still continuing and has caused such a concern that next year they are going to take another English teacher out of the English classes and have her concentrate on a reading program for foreign born students. However, it does mean that all the other classes will become still larger.[6]

And, finally, in cases where allocations have appeared to be arranged around output objectives (in the complex experiments, for example), local programming and innovations do not appear to be disseminated throughout the system. Consequently, any benefits forthcoming from the experiments tend to remain localized.[7]

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[6] From an interview with a LAUSD teacher, January 1970.

[7] See Appendix C for an analysis of the Jordan and Garfield Complexes.

If we shift our focus to examine the input side of the quality education issue, we are faced with even more inexcuseable failures of the system. In an examination of a specially drawn sample of 15 elementary schools representing varying degrees of reading achievement without special funding from State or Federal sources, it is apparent that there is little, if any, differentiation in the allocation of staff and instructional resources (materials and funding) among schools with varying degrees of need.[8] This tends to be true, an average for all schools in terms of instructional dollars per student on an average daily attendance basis when grouped according to median reading score.[9] Where the intent of differentially allocating resources is unavoidably clear, namely, Title I, ESEA, the present system has difficulty in defining and planning output expectations and has difficulty in planning and allocating resources according to prerequisite needs.

Parents and community groups, particularly in central city areas, voiced considerable frustration at the system's inability to differentiate education on the basis of need, as well as the lack of responsiveness of individual schools to meet the needs of their students.[10]

The District is severely criticized for lack of differentiation in application and control of Title 1, ESEA resources in local schools:

> "The Title I project within the Los Angeles Unified School District, with the exception of previously specified activities, seemed to constitute a funding of people and items rather than a comprehensive educational program which had been designed to prescriptively meet the diagnosed educational needs of identified project participants."[11]

> "The elementary project, according to a consensus of the review team, was planned in such a manner than the final outcome resulted in a program of general aid to most elementary target area schools."[12]

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[8] See Appendix G, for a full presentation of the analysis of the 15 elementary schools.

[9] Controller's Annual Report of Expenditures Classified by Schools for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1968 (LAUSD, December 1968), and Individual Elementary and Secondary School Data, op. cit.

[10] See Appendixes E and F for analyses of citizen responses.

[11] Status Report on Los Angeles City Unified School District's ESEA, Title 1 Project. Bureau of Program Development, Division of Compensatory Education, California State Department of Education, p. 3, June 1969. Sacramento, California (draft copy, for discussion only).

[12] Ibid., p. 17.

"A major finding of the review team was the absence of longitudinal services and a lack of articulation between the elementary and secondary projects."[13]

"It is the opinion of the review team that a very substantive amount of funds have been used for personnel assigned to work in or out of the central offices."[14]

"Although there was a project coordinator appropriately assigned, the review team, by observing operational procedures, concluded that this position was not vested with policy-making power. The program seemed to be administratively perceived as general aid to the district staff and local schools rather than as a comprehensive compensatory education program for individual schools and children."[15]

An analysis of the dropping of the sixth period due to budget cuts, and the resulting turn-around time when funds became available[16] gives ample indication of the long latency period of response to changing conditions. More everyday examples can be found in teacher evaluations of lead time required by type of resource material or supply needed.[17]

Furthermore, some limitations on reallocation of resources and improvement of efficiency are from outside the system. For example, state mandates regarding certification requirements, class sizes, curriculum requirements, pupil-teacher ratios, and the like.[18]

Finally, some teachers organizations have repeatedly asserted that even the State allocational process is not in keeping with apparent needs as LAUSD contains approximately 15 percent of the State's public school population but receives only eight percent of State aid to public schools.

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13 Ibid., p. 19.

14 Ibid., p. 21.

15 Ibid., p. 22.

16 See Appendix C for an examination of this critical incident.

17 See Appendix D for an analysis of the teacher survey.

18 See Appendix J, "Legal Restraints".

2. Representation

Parents, teachers, principals, and other persons having a vital stake in the operation and outcome of the Los Angeles Schools find it difficult, in many cases impossible, to solve problems or have representation on an issue short of confrontational tactics.[19] This leads to an escalation of feelings and ultimately the issue or problem is thrust before the Los Angeles Unified School District Board. The Board policies, formulated as a consequence of confrontational tactics, tend to be generalized, thus leading to further inequities of the representational process. For example, the Mexican-American Commission is viewed by many Mexican-Americans as not representing their interests because the Commission members were not elected and had to be approved by the Board. Furthermore, members of various white constituencies resent the special services afforded the Commission, wish similar special services for problems specific to their areas, and assert the Board is exercising arbitrary favoritism. This solution of a commission now seems to be generalized with a Black Commission having been established and similar charges of non-representativeness are arising. The analysis of the Fremont principal removal incident traces the pattern of escalation of an event into a crisis, and the Board's resultant decision, which apparently led to further charges of non-representation.[20]

The board views itself as being a representative body however, there are limitations to their abilities to represent. First is the at-large election process. Despite each Board member's assurance that by running at-large he has to consider all people in the Los Angeles School District, there is little evidence that Board members received much electoral support from the inner city. Most of them have their sources of support firmly tied to wealthy suburbia. Because of the great amount of time involved in serving on the Board, only the "professional elite" -- doctors, lawyers, professors, retirees, and the like -- who have flexible work schedules can really afford to be Board members. This says something about their representation, despite the comments by a few that they are very much in tune with minority groups and with the lower income working man.

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[19] See Appendixes B, E, and F for analyses of representational problems.

[20] See Appendix C.

This is not to say that having members elected from subdistricts would solve all problems and would lead to improved representation. One problem is the fact that there seems to be no sense of community in most of the Los Angeles geographical area. The mere size of the LAUSD inhibits any real sense of representation of minority points of view. A subdistrict-tied seven-man board would mean that each member would "represent" something on the order of 600,000 people. If the subdistrict-tied board were to be expanded in numbers to assure representation of a "substantial minority" point of view (either ethnic or philosophic) it would become so large as to court unwieldiness and inefficiency. Another point, of course, is the fact that tying board elections to subdistricts does not necessarily lead to proper representation. As long as Board members continue to meet two days a week, starting at 4:30 and having many more hours devoted to committee meetings, center city areas are unlikely to be able to put "one of their own" (in terms of socio-economic level) on the Board, unless Board members are paid.

A second problem relates to Board members' lack of information for use in planning and in making policy decisions. As noted in the previous section on quality education, there currently are few output measures which allow the formulation of general policies or general resource allocation procedures by means other than ADA and reading scores. Again, while technically these limitations are capable of being corrected, there is insufficient accountability in the present organization form to provide the necessary incentives or checks and balances.

Continuing down the organization structure to local school levels, the corollaries of effective representation are typically often violated as principals typically do not effectively involve the various parties-in-interest in exploring issues and determining priorities. Even where the principals espouse the need for parental involvement in the school, there is a clear indication from much of their testimony and interview comments that the role they envision is primarily one of public relations, rather than involvement in policy-making.[21] The second corollary, i.e., involvement cannot be sustained unless

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[21] See Evaluation Report, Thirteen School Pilot Project (Center for Planned Change, a PACE center) November 20, 1969, pp. 6-7, 18-19. See also Community Discussion Groups, Appendix E and an analysis of the Community Hearings in Appendix F. For similar problems in other cities, see Rogers, op. cit.

the power to influence decisions and action is effectively shared, also fails to be met, even by most of those principals who try actively to involve and use their local advisory council which they may have selected themselves. In this regard, they are hampered by the system, which fails to place relevant and sufficient authorities for managing local operation in the hands of the principal. Furthermore, those authorities placed in his hands are severely restricted by line item budgeting procedures, centralized curriculum determinations, staff assignment priorities, and possibly irrelevant mandates in the Education Code. These restrictions constantly lead to frustration on the part of advisory councils.[22]

3. Cost

When compared with other unified school districts in Los Angeles County the LAUSD ranks first in size and twelfth in unit operating cost.[23] If these unit operating costs are arrayed by size of district, as shown in Exhibit III-2 on the next page, we find slight economies of scale in district sizes ranging from 10,000 to 35,000 students (ADA).

This simple comparison ignores the question of quality of output per unit operating cost. However, James and Levin have examined the literature in empirical studies of quality related to cost for both school and district size. Their conclusion is instructive in interpreting the array of Los Angeles County data:

> "Thus, all of the studies that have tried to relate school or school district size to educational outcomes have found either no relationship or a negative one between student enrollments and the level of educational output. These answers are not necessarily the final ones, for each of the studies acknowledges a number of methodological shortcoming that would qualify its conclusions. Yet, what cannot be ignored is the consistency of the conclusions -- that while diseconomies of scale appear, economies of scale do not -- despite differences in the techniques of analysis, samples of schools, measures of educational outcomes, and so on."[24]

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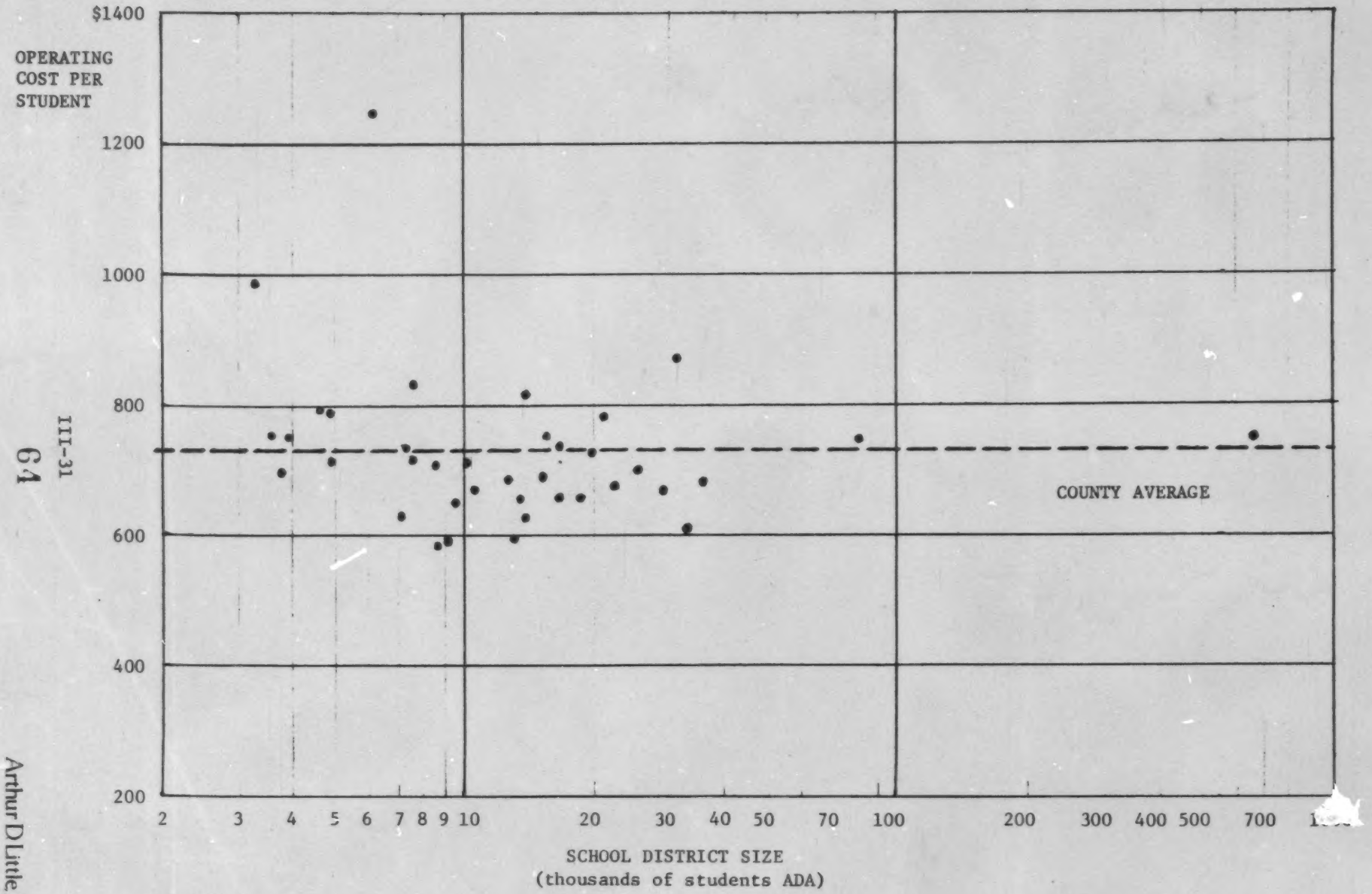
22 See Principal Interviews in Appendix B. Also see the testimony of the representative of the Elementary Principals Association in the transcript of the hearing at Webster Junior High School.

23 Alphabetical and Rank Order Arrangement of Pupil Cost and Other Related Data for Elementary, High, Junior College and Unified School Districts of the County of Los Angeles. (Office of the Superintendent of Schools, County of Los Angeles, Division of Business Advisory Services, December 1969.) Part III, p. 82.

24 H. Thomas James and Henry M. Levin, "Financing Community Schools" in Henry M. Levin (Ed.), Community Control of Schools, (Washington D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1970), p. 253-254.

Exhibit III-2

Total Unit Operating Costs for Unified School Districts in Los Angeles County Arrayed by Size of District



Source: Alphabetical. . . , op. cit., p. 56.

Note: General Fund only

Arthur D Little Inc

If unit costs were adjusted to control for differences in quality of output (such as by using standardized achievement tests scores) and the results were portrayed as in Exhibit III-2, we would expect, at best, no economies of scale and, at worst, diseconomies of scale occurring in very large school districts. (Such an analysis would be a significant research effort and was not undertaken in this study.) Considering the import of the indicators of quality of output in LAUSD it is reasonable to expect that diseconomies of scale exist. Relating these observations to the research literature and our findings, we conclude that there is no reason, from the standpoint of simple technical cost efficiency, for a district organization to be larger than 10,000 to 30,000 students.

Turning next to the question of allocational cost efficiency[25] we have not found empirical studies which deal directly with this important topic from the point of view of an economic analysis. However, we do find several studies which examine the relationships of resource allocation and improved educational output, but without relating output results to costs of the resource inputs. Some examples are Coleman[26] and Mayeske?[27] To examine the question of resource allocation as related to educational output, (i.e., are resources allocated according to need?) we selected 15 elementary schools in LAUSD, on the basis of varying degrees of need as indicated by sixth grade median reading scores. Their instructional resources were examined to see if differential allocations had been made. Our findings indicate that not only are allocations not substantially differentiated (teaching staffs, pupil-teacher ratios, etc.) some allocations are contradicting to known guidelines for allocational effectiveness (the monies for materials, books and supplies are the same for all schools not benefitting from special categorical aid programs).

If the principle of allocational efficiency implies a differential allocation of resources according to educational need, then the lack of differential allocation implies a failure to meet the test of allocational efficiency. The difficulty is in judging the magnitude of allocational inefficiency as empirical studies capable of providing a baseline do not appear

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[25] See pp. III-13 and 14 for a definition of allocational cost efficiency.

[26] Coleman, James S., (et.al.), Equality of Educational Opportunity, Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1966.

[27] Mayeske, George W., (et.al.), A Study of Our Nation's Schools: A Working Paper, Washington D.C.: U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare/Office of Education, 1970.

to exist. (While it is possible to use the LAUSD as the data base for developing the measures, such a research effort would be quite substantial and was not undertaken in this study.) However, we can apply the less stringent criterion referred to in the section discussing the cost criterion: reorganization and reallocation of resources is to be preferred if it delivers greater quality at the same unit cost. Along these lines we examined the possible ways to increase quality education in keeping with the principle of individualization of educational need fulfillment by reallocating present (1968-69) central staff expenditures to some subdistricts.[28] Our conclusion was that reorganization at Central Office and Area levels, which eliminates a number of top level administrative positions and permits transfer of selected curriculum and pupil personnel services functions to decentralized levels, can "free up" approximately $11,400,000 to fund a more decentralized operation.[29]

While the delivery of improved quality is not necessarily assured because of the lack of accountability measures, evaluations and sanctions, the potential exists and we conclude that reorganization and reallocation is indeed to be preferred as it would be likely to improve LAUSD's ability to meet the criterion of allocational cost efficiency. It should be noted that LAUSD is itself moving in this direction, although limitedly.

4. Accountability

In general, accountability is lacking the LAUSD in the functional senses outlined in the earlier section describing the accountability criterion. Accounting measurements (both input and output) are imprecise, the mechanisms for assigning and implementing accountability are indirect (or at best, incomplete), and sanctions for assuring implementation are diluted.

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[28] We noted 1968-69 expenditures data which was the last full year of data. The 1969-70 expenditures will be different because of several reorganizations in keeping with funding levels and rising costs. However, the principle will remain essentially the same even if the savings are not accurately descriptive.

[29] See Appendix H, "New Staff Deployments Possible with Budget Savings from Central Office and Area Level Reorganization".

a. The Planning Function

School board members are extensively involved in the budgetary planning process. In a study of 15 large city school systems in the United States it was noted that:

> Los Angeles School Board members are presented with more budget-related information than board members in any of the other 14 cities examined in this study. Moreover, interviews with Board members revealed that they rely heavily on this information for making decisions. Board members become quite expert in understanding budget making and budget decisions. They become so accustomed to budget support data than on occasions when an item has been deleted from their "budget packet" they have noticed its absence and asked that it be reinstated.[30]

However, one should note that this effort is directed toward the budget, a line-item document, rather than toward programs or policies centering on classroom content, effectiveness, or specialized student needs. Indeed, the use of norm tables (board policies on pupil-teacher ratios, etc.) for calculating budgetary requirements in the operating divisions and schools, plus the use of "A" (ongoing operations) and "B" (new requirements on a line-item basis) components of the budget limit the board's participation in planning the objectives as well as planning resource allocations or reallocations in a meaningful reuse.[31]

Both board members and administrators sense the lack of planning, but there is little agreement on how serious the problem is or just how to remedy the situation.[32]

While the Superintendent promulgated a memorandum of intent, in December 1968, regarding local planning under the then newly legislated SB-1 law, the recently conducted survey of LAUSD teaching personnel found many understanding neither the intent nor the content of SB-1.[33] The principals interviewed

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30 H. Thomas James, James A. Kelly, and Walter I. Garms, Determinants of Educational Expenditures in Large Cities of the United States (Stanford, California, Stanford University, School of Education, 1966), p. 186.

31 This point is generally true of large urban school districts, not just LAUSD. See H. Thomas James, James A. Kelly and Walter I. Garms, op. cit., p. 58.

32 See Appendix B, Section 1: "Board Member Interviews" and Section 5, "Administrator Interviews".

33 See Appendix D, "Survey of LAUSD Teaching Personnel".

gave little indication that they were significantly involved in planning to exploit the potential of SB-1. Furthermore, principals produced little evidence that long-range planning was taking place at either the school level of the area level.[34]

In the Title I, ESEA funded operations it was also noted:

> (1) Assessment of program planning within the Los Angeles City Schools must be approached with some tensility. If a program were to be predicated upon identifiable personnel, materials, equipment or activities and how these elements related to the district or other State and Federal funds, then one might conclude that program planning was designed to meet institutional needs and that student needs followed as a corollary. This procedure seemed to be used. A teacher was assigned to one school, a librarian was assigned to another school and an enrichment teacher might be assigned to another. These services were added to complement the basic district program and other compensatory education efforts.
>
> In order to assess the Los Angeles Title 1 program in terms of State requirements pertaining to the development of compensatory education programs, it is necessary to analyze the sequential steps in planning a Title 1 program. An examination of these steps is appropriate to illustrate this point. The general steps in planning are according to the following sequential pattern:
>
> (a) Organize the school district advisory committee.
> (b) Identify target areas and determine a number of children to be served which is commensurate with the amount of the entitlement.
> (c) Select schools and grade levels.
> (d) Involve private and parochial schools.

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[34] See Appendix B, Section 2, "Principal Interviews".

(e) Identify rank and analyze special needs.
(f) Establish criteria for selecting children for project participation.
(g) Design a project which determines objectives related to needs, designs activities to meet those needs and describes expected outcomes.
(h) Design evaluation procedures to measure specific objectives for identified children.
(i) Develop a plan for in-service education. (Reference: Guidelines, Revised June 1967, page 4.)

The review team consensus was that steps 1, 5, 6, 7, 8 and 9 were either not accomplished or discharged improperly. A few schools and a few components, indicated in the General Comments section, provided exceptions to this general finding.

(2) Observations gained by the review team and interviews with local school personnel indicated that the project was not planned as a team effort. Key resources within the district and area staff, as well as most Title 1 staff members responsible for implementing the project, were not involved in the planning of the project. In many instances this situation caused non-involvement by building staff members who did not perceive the project as identifiable or as one belonging to the school. At worst, this procedure caused apathy or resentment. The project, in essence, appeared to have been planned essentially by central staff members according to institutional or geographic needs.[35]

b. The Implementation Function

In terms of identifying the nature and extent of resources to be used in accomplishing objectives the organization performs acceptably where it indeed has prescriptive plans and objectives. For example, in terms of recruiting a specified

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[35] Status Report on Los Angeles City Unified School District's ESEA, Title 1 Report, Bureau of Program Development, Division of Compensatory Education, State Department of Education, (Sacramento, California, Draft Copy, for discussion only, June 1969), pp. 14-17.

number of teachers with prerequisite qualifications for the overall system, LAUSD performs adequately in view of salary scales and industry alternatives for teachers with certain skills. However, as implementation is a direct function of the results of planning, the overall ability to implement is handicapped in view of the above comments on planning.

Evidence of the latter is found in interviews with principals who implied by their comments that each level of the system appeared to be working for itself, with little conception of its relationship and responsibility to other levels, and the feeling of commitment of group effort toward a well-defined goal appeared lacking in all levels of the hierarchy.[36]

Similarly, in terms of recruiting teachers for specific sub-areas in the LAUSD, the rules for recruitment are the same for the Valley and South Central Los Angeles, but the recruitment problems are considerably different.[37]

The problem of resource allocation is a general problem in the system. Our examination of 15 elementary schools (cited above) found little variation in the allocation of resources according to needs and in some cases, the variations appeared to be likely to ultimately cause greater differences in need.[38] Similarly, if we consider teachers as resources (also needing allocation according to need), we find some interesting misallegations. The teacher survey found the younger and less experienced teacher to be located in substantially greater proportions in the schools with the highest percentage of black and/or Spanish surname children. The teacher survey also found these same schools (90 percent or more black and/or Spanish surname children) to be rated by teachers as having poor curricula vis-a-vis needs and also as having serious problems with teacher turnover.[39]

Finally, regarding the specification of who is to have responsibility and authority to implement and for which he is to be held accountable, LAUSD is overly centralized. For example, budgets at the area and local levels are on a line item basis with no authority delegated for transferring among accounts. Thus, one encounters situations of which the following is illustrative: according to one of the principals interviewed, the schools are hampered at present in keeping up with technology

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36 See Appendix B, Section 2, "Principal Interviews".

37 See Appendix B, Section 5, "Administrator Interviews."

38 See Appendix G.

39 See Appendix D, "Survey of LAUSD Teaching Personnel".

and innovation because of a lack of discretionary local authority in budget allocation and use. Schools technically have two equipment purchase budget allocations: one for new equipment, and one for replacement equipment. The first of these budget allocation was eliminated in the last budget cut, so that only equipment for which the school can produce a similar machine as trade-in can be bought (since repairs can extend the life of machines, this seems the poorer of two budgets to eliminate). The principal does not have the power of substitution in these budgets. Under this arrangement those schools which are equipment poor to begin with will suffer. Ironically, those same schools may be getting remodeling work which may be low on the principal's list of priority needs.

Principals in a detailed discussion expressed this same limitation in a more generalizable sense by asserting that they needed discretionary budgets at the school level coupled with performance standards, and also that school support functions such as maintenance and curriculum planning, to give two examples, must be made to operate as staff functions, responsive to line authority requests.[40]

c. The Evaluative Function

As a general summary, the evaluative function is ineffectively performed from the board level on down. The basic performance evaluation measures are reading tests (grades 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 9 and 12). However, the testing program is notably weak on students' mathematical and reasoning performances. Furthermore, the evaluative use of the existing reading score measures are seriously limited because of the number of counsellors.[41] Even considering the internal use of student performance measures for evaluating experimental curricula, the system fails to fulfill this function. While the evaluation of on-going reading and mathematics curricula is done in a general sense, the problems of timing for a short-handed staff reputedly cause them to forego evaluating experimental curricula even though experimental curricula are used. Thus, the opportunities for reallocation of curriculum resources must be judged in the absence of evaluative data. This leads to a contest of wills versus system-wide policies; changes benefitting students are secondary and at best a matter of good fortune.[42] This lack of classroom and curriculum performance information is

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40 See Appendix E, Section 2, "Principal Discussion Group", See also Appendix B, Section 2, "Principal Interviews".

41 Interview with Measurement and Evaluation Section, LAUSD.

42 Same source as the preceding reference.

felt all the way up through the system to the board, thus limiting its ability to plan.[43]

At the level of teacher performance the same types of problems are apparent. A series of interviews with principals indicated that teachers are evaluated only in extreme cases (outstanding and worthy of a bonus or poor and requiring some form of action) or for probationary teachers and even here the lack of pupil data hinders the process. The actual evaluation processes used varied from "stepping into a room to get the feel of the atmosphere" to a well planned and executed evaluation based on attitudes formulated by the principal, vice-principals, and department chairmen. The general outcome is a rating sheet on each probationary teacher. (Many get no more of a "review" than a look at the rating sheet, which they are required to sign.)[44]

Citizens faulted the system for improper procedures for securing the evaluation of school personnel (teachers and principals) along certain criteria, for not setting up effective grievance procedures whereby parents can be heard on personnel issues, and for not being willing to dismiss personnel who fail to meet standards.[45] On the other hand, the school administration feels hemmed in by teacher tenure and a strong employee union.[46]

Turning to the area of program evaluation, the lack of evaluation is again apparent.[47] In reviewing Title 1,ESEA projects, the review team noted the lack of evaluation and made the following statement:

> The Division of Compensatory Education recommends that the Los Angeles program development staff and the evaluation and research staff work closely together. This close coordination is necessary to achieve evaluation feedback into the program design and to insure that the evaluation will directly relate to actual program inputs.[48]

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43 See "The Planning Function" above.

44 See Appendix B, Section 2, "Principal Interviews".

45 See an analysis of the Community Discussion Groups in Appendix E and an analysis of the Community Hearings, Appendix F.

46 See an analysis of principal and LAUSD interviews in Appendix B.

47 See also the discussion of experimental curriculum evaluation mentioned in this section above.

48 Status Report on Los Angeles . . . , op. cit., p. 428.

Similarly, the present 18 school project, the APEX project, and the Jordan and Garfield complexes, do not have adequate evaluation programs so that beneficial results can be identified and extended.[49]

Finally, at the board level, all of the problems of lack of evaluation at other levels culminate in an inability to evaluate the system overall and hold it accountable in any significant sense other than financially, on a line-item basis.

d. The Accountability Application Function

In the present LAUSD system, sanctions are partial, focused upward, and ineffective at all levels, including the board level. Some examples will serve to illustrate what is a general problem.

In the case of school operation for which principals should be held accountable, the most important single resource, both qualitatively and quantitatively, is the classroom teacher. However, the selection, termination and transfer authorities are, for the most part, beyond his control.[50] Thus, for him to be held accountable for school performance (qualitatively or administratively) is not possible in a practical sense and the reporting of his "performance" to anyone is more or less irrelevant.

Analogous problems arise at the level of the area superintendent as exemplified by the principal removal incidents. Area superintendents do not have time to plan, formulate guidelines or evaluate the performance of principals (even if it were possible). Consequently, when problems arise as to principal performance, the area superintendent does not have the information or communication channels to exercise his implicit sanctions and the problem escalates to the Division Head and ultimately the board. The board, being no more adequately equipped to handle the situation frequently resorts to processes and actions which are seen as responding to the "squeakiest wheel".[51]

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49 See Appendix C, Section 3, "The Jordan and Garfield Complexes"; and Appendix B, Section 5, "Administrator Interviews".

50 Selection and transfer are handled at the area level for the Elementary Division and centrally for the Secondary Division, while the termination proceedings require extensive effort by the principal and inevitably extended appeal and/or court proceedings rendering the authority almost useless.

51 See Appendix B, Section 5, "Administrator Interviews", Appendix C, Section 1, "Principal Removal Incidents", and Appendix E, "Evaluation of Alternatives by Various Parties-in-Interest".

Parents and citizen opinion leaders, as well as advisory committee members, also expressed considerable frustration that they didn't receive appropriate information, that system policies and procedures were in no way accountable to the local parent and citizen constituency, and that the problem of finding out who was responsible for a particular task or item was almost impossible.[52]

Finally, the board sanctions, while theoretically effective, are rendered ineffective as they cannot devote the time necessary to effectively exercise them.[53] Even the sanctions they try to exercise are limited in effectiveness, because of the lack of information in the system and the inability to be seen as representing all of LAUSD.[54]

The interrelated deficiencies of the accountability system, as briefly highlighted above, give rise to a rapid escalation of issues (as noted in the Critical Incident Section, Appendix C). Parents, in approaching the local school, find their questions passed on to the next level, as both teacher and principal are not capable (due to the system) of accepting responsibility or effecting action. The area superintendent is often equally incapable of effecting action, and the pattern has thus become well established of bringing local issues to the Board for redress (the Board has this responsibility in its charter). The situation leads to a vital array of higher echelon resources being called upon to resolve local issues which have become so inflamatory as to require a great expenditure of time and effort (much greater and more extensive than if the issue had been resolved locally).

5. Integration

The LAUSD faces serious issues in attempting to fulfill the criterion of integration. According to the active proponents of racial integration in the schools, the history of LAUSD since the 1953 U.S. Supreme Court ruling in Brown vs. Board of Education, is one of continuing inability to plan and execute any effective programs to deal with de facto racially segregated schools.[55]

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52 See Appendixes E and F; see also individual hearing transcripts.

53 Most board members presently devote the equivalent of a 40 hour week to board activities although they receive pay only for 10 meetings a month.

54 See the previous discussions of representation and also Appendix B, Section 1, "Board Member Interviews".

55 For a brief historical account of the ACLU's efforts and the LAUSD board's resistance during the period of 1960-1965, see John and LaRee Caughey, School Segregation on Our Doorstep. (Los Angeles, California: Quail Books, 1966.)

Indeed, if the Gittelson ruling is accepted as the realistic criterion of integration, LAUSD clearly is not meeting that criterion as 68 percent of its schools do not have a proportion of minority children which is "not less than 10 percent, nor more than 49 percent".[56] Note that minority children are defined by the Gittelson ruling as black, or Spanish surname, thus excluding orientals, American Indians and other non-white categories.

Furthermore, while frequent references are made, by former board members, citizens and others, to redrawing school attendance area boundaries as a way of effecting integration, the fact is there is no way to fulfill the criterion without extensive and large scale bussing. This conclusion is evident by inspecting the map shown on the following page. The map shows regular high schools throughout LAUSD identified as to whether they have student populations with less than ten percent, ten to 49 percent, or more than 49 percent, being black and/or Spanish surname. Several conclusions are relevant:

- Of the 16 high schools having a proportion of minority children greater than 49 percent, only three are within ten miles of a high school having an unacceptably low proportion (less than ten percent) of minority children. (The situation is worse in the 400 plus elementary schools where only approximately ten to 15 percent of the unacceptable high proportion schools are within three miles of unacceptably low proportion schools.)

- The gerrymandering of attendance areas will effect racial and ethnic balancing in only seven out of 47 schools (six with too high a proportion and one having too low a proportion). Furthermore, at the elementary level, such gerrymandering will raise the average distance which the average child would have to be bussed to meet the ruling.

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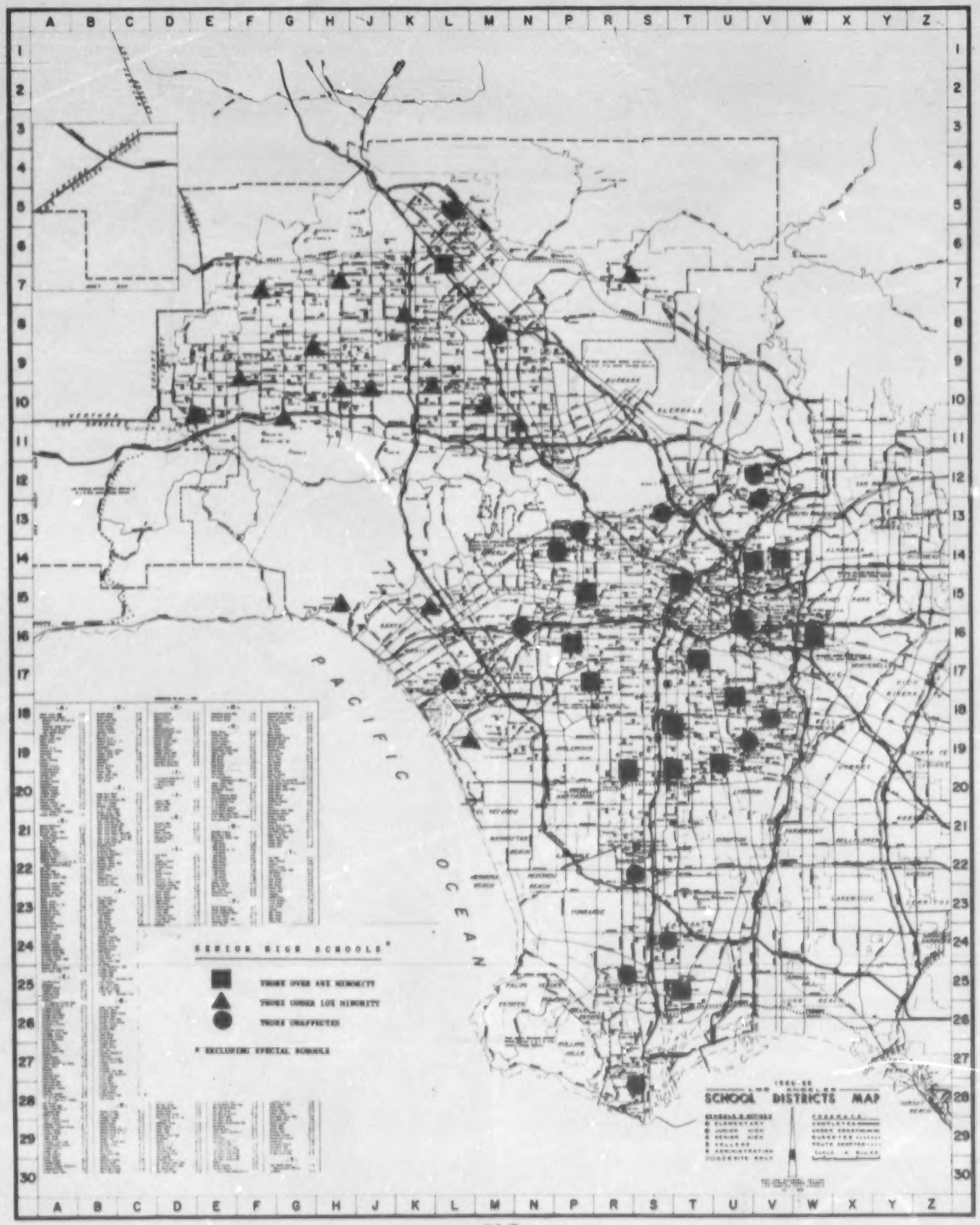
[56] The terms of the Gittelson ruling applied to the most recent LAUSD study: Racial and Ethnic Survey, Fall, 1969. (LAUSD, Auxiliary Services Division, Measurement and Evaluation Section, Report No. 303.)


A B C D E F G H J K L M N P R S T U V W X Y Z
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30
PACIFIC OCEAN
SENIOR HIGH SCHOOLS*
THOSE OVER 40% MINORITY
THOSE UNDER 10% MINORITY
THOSE UNAFFECTED
* EXCLUDING SPECIAL SCHOOLS
1966-68
SCHOOL DISTRICTS MAP

- Finally, the mere transporting of children from a school having too high a proportion of minority children will not remedy the situation. (The proportion of the remaining children will not have changed enough in most cases to meet the not more than 49 percent ruling.) It will then be necessary to transport white children into largely the same schools from which the black and Spanish surname children have been transported. Furthermore, as not all children in either the unacceptably high or low proportion schools will need to be transported, the politically sensitive question is which children shall be bussed in both cases?

Thus, in conclusion, while the LAUSD has not met the integration criterion, it is capable of doing so, but only through an extensive and large-scale bussing program. Earlier attempts to integrate by building new schools and gerrymandering attendance areas have been thwarted by changing patterns of residences. Crenshaw High School was planned as an integrated school, but by the time it was built, many whites had moved from the neighborhood, to be replaced primarily by blacks.

As a substantial minority hold integration to be a criterion of high priority, any district reorganization must be explained in terms of its ability to facilitate, or at least not hinder the meeting of the integration criterion.

However, bussing appears to be opposed by a majority of parents, and citizen opinion leaders, particularly members of the Mexican-American population who fear the loss of special English classes (ESL) and Spanish speaking teachers if children are scattered throughout the District by bussing.[57]

6. Implementability

While initially it may seem strange to evaluate an existing organization in terms of its implementability, it is nevertheless important to do so for the last ten years tell a story which is important for the future. In 1960, an outside consulting firm concluded a study which recommended decentrali-

[57] See Appendix E, Evaluation of Alternatives by Various Parties-in-Interest.

zation, master teachers and other changes which, at this time and in view of what we presently know, would have allowed an improvement in quality education. Today, ten years later and faced with a lack of voter support for a tax override, increasing complaints about the quality of education, rising costs, and agreement among teachers, parent and citizen opinion leaders, and principals that decentralization is needed, the LAUSD is taking the first small steps toward those recommendations.

These steps for change are long overdue as the feasibility of continuing the present style of organization is quite low:

- A majority of parents and citizens, both in public hearings and small group discussion sessions, expressed a need to improve the quality of education in LAUSD.[58]
- A majority of parents and citizens also expressed a need to reorganize LAUSD.[59]
- Principals also agreed that reorganization is necessary.[60] (The Association of Elementary School Administrators set up a committee which has developed and recommended a plan for District Reorganization/Decentralization.)
- An overwhelming majority of teachers favored decentralizing the district.[61]
- LAUSD administrators expressed the need for reorganization.[62]
- The voters turned down a tax override by an overwhelming margin.

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58 See Appendix F, "Summary of Public Hearings" and Appendix E, "Evaluation of Alternatives by Various Parties-in-Interest".

59 See Appendix E, "Evaluation of Alternatives by Various Parties-in-Interest".

60 See Appendix E, op. cit.

61 See Appendix D, "Survey of LAUSD Teaching Personnel".

62 See Appendix B, "Administrator Interviews"; see also A Proposal for the Los Angeles City School District (LAUSD February 1970).

Thus, as can be seen from all of the preceding evaluations, there is a clear need for reorganization. Furthermore, the need is recognized by a majority of almost all parties-in-interest and, whether by internal recognition or in response to this study funded by the Joint Committe, LAUSD is taking steps to reorganize. The questions remaining are: What are the alternatives for reorganizing? And which ones are recommended in view of their ability to meet the same criteria applied to the present LAUSD organization?

C. Description and Evaluation of Alternatives for Reorganizing Large Urban Unified School Districts

The range of possible alternatives for school district reorganization is almost limitless, ranging from the suggestion of one skyscraper boarding school located in the center of the state (the ultimate in centralization) and funded solely by state funds, to the so-called free-market solution of no public schooling. Neither of these extremes is politically or socially feasible, at least at the present time. Our initial field work efforts, directed at examining LAUSD, and testing and refining criteria, resulted in a wide variety of suggestions for reorganization. To bracket the range of potentially feasible alternatives, four distinctly different organization forms, each with two variations, thus yielding a total of eight alternatives, were prepared and evaluated. Evaluations consisted of technical examinations and analyses plus evaluation work sessions with selected groups of parents and citizen opinion leaders, principals, central LAUSD administrators, and board members. On the following pages of this section the definitions of the alternatives are presented first in a form closely similar to the one presented in the work sessions, followed by a comparative summary of the evaluations.

1. Brief Descriptions of Eight Reorganization Alternatives

The following descriptions were prepared for use in discussing and evaluating the possible ways to reorganize large urban unified school districts. They have been arranged in four "families", where each family represents a distinct difference of organizational form.

a. "A" - Buttress and Extend the Present Organization Form of the Los Angeles Unified School District

(1) For the LAUSD to stay the same

Under this alternative the District would continue under its present form of organization and would operate very much as it now does. Changes would be limited to refocusing of discretionary efforts, simplifying procedures, and attending to problems of internal and external communications. This alternative implies that the system's basic structure, functions, and staffing patterns are fine, that what is needed are only minor tune-ups and improved communication so that appropriate understanding and support will be forthcoming from the public and the Legislature.

(2) For the LAUSD to "reorganize" only in the sense of adding resources and improving its programs

Under this alternative the District would continue its presently centralized operations but would conclude that it is hampered primarily by lack of funds, staff, and facilities in operating as it should. This would require additional funds for reconstituting the supervisory staff, adding reserve teaching staff at the area superintendent's level, beefing up the research and development activities, expanding testing and measurement functions, enlarging in-service training programs, reducing pupil-teacher ratios, possibly providing full-time salaries for school board members and staff assistance to enable the Board to more effectively carry out all of the tasks which it has assumed.

b. "B" - Divide the Los Angeles Unified School District into Approximately 20 Smaller Districts[1]

This reorganization possibility derives from the assumption that the advantages (principally economies of scale) of centralization of Board and administrative decision-making and of staff and support functions presently cost more than they are worth in terms of: distance from the schools (geographical and psychic), ability to represent and serve people and schools with diverse interests and needs over a large geographic area; and the duplication, delay and expense of centralized handling in light of the relatively small value of some of the items needing processing. There are two alternatives within this general family of alternatives:

(1) Make each of the approximately 20 new districts completely autonomous and independent

Under this alternative each of the new districts would contain approximately 30,000-35,000 students in grades K-12. Each would be completely autonomous and dependent on the tax base lying within its geographical boundary. The State Foundation plan for funding assistance would apply to each, and, of course, each would be able to negotiate independently for Federal program funds. As an independent unified school district, each would be responsible for:

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[1] The number of districts varied, at several points in the study process, from ten to 47. The use of "approximately 20" was in keeping with the evolving conclusion that a subdistrict or independent district should, from several standpoints, consist of two high schools and its feeder schools. See Appendix H.

- Electing its own board which would possess the full range of powers and responsibilities now held by the LAUSD Board and the boards of other unified school districts;

- Hiring a superintendent of schools and providing the various administrative and supporting staff and services needed; and

- Recruiting, hiring, firing, and tenuring of teachers, as well as providing and managing a retirement fund.

(2) Make each of the approximately 20 new districts autonomous and independent except that all would continue to share in the same tax base now defined as the LAUSD

This alternative proposes independent districts operating in the same fashion as the preceding alternative, but without each new district being dependent on its own tax base. This would require the development of some measure of educational or financial need and formulas which could be used as a basis for allocating a portion of the total tax revenues back to each new district. Under this alternative each independent district would still have its own elected board and administration as set forth in the preceding alternative.

c. "C" - Decentralize Selected Administrative Functions

This family of alternatives admits to the same problems as the second ("B") family of alternatives, but is based on the proposition that there are functions to be performed at a centralized level, even in a very large school district, which are more efficiently conducted at that level. For example: teacher recruiting activities; purchasing of frequent and large orders of supplies such as textbooks and replacement items for classroom use; data processing and accounting; research and development. Again, there are at least two alternatives within this family:

(1) Decentralize by moving some supporting services, planning and decision-making on curriculum and personnel closer to the schools

This option would move some supporting services and many planning activities closer to the schools, and provide the area superintendents or school principals with discretionary funds to be used for purchasing infrequent or special items which should not be processed through central purchasing. This option

would decentralize decisions on curriculum, instructional methods, and personnel. It could include the use of master teachers within a school with curriculum development and in-service training taking place and being supervised at both the school and area superintendent levels. If this alternative is to avoid simply adding layers of people and costs to the present system, it will require giving the area superintendent considerably greater responsibility and authority to determine and interpret policy in his area (e.g., flexible class size, pupil-teacher ratio, lump-sum budgets, differentiated staffing, and so on). It will also require that the principal have greater responsibility and power in determining and interpreting the school's policy (e.g., removal of ineffective teachers, the use of lump-sum as opposed to line-item budgets, and the encouragement and implementation of changes in the classroom which are likely to have a positive effect on students' learning). In line with these local prerogatives, the principal could decide whether or not to have an advisory group for his school and how to go about setting it up.

(2) Decentralize both administrative and representative functions

This alternative proposes that, in addition to decentralizing administrative decision-making and other administrative functions and supporting services, representative functions would also be purposefully and systematically decentralized by mandating locally elected advisory councils for each school. Such advisory groups could be chartered with specific responsibilities and prerogatives such as those of contributing to the ordering of priorities of educational need within a school, familiarizing teachers with conditions in the local community, participating in the processes of staff performance evaluation and training or advising on the selection of curriculum and course content to address local needs, and so on.

d. "D" - Reorganize to Subdistricts Having Locally Elected Governing Boards with Specified Powers

Two additional reorganization alternatives can be derived from using combinations of the preceding alternatives. Both proceed from the assumption that the present school district is too large and disparate for its present means of representation and too centralized to permit sensitive responses to differentiated local educational needs. However, they also add a new assumption that advisory councils are not effective, and to effect changes and make schools responsive to their communities, parents and citizens need to be able to exercise more direct decision-making powers. These combination alternatives therefore add the feature of locally elected subdistrict

boards of education with specifically designated, but limited, legal powers applying only to the schools, administrators and staff in the defined subdistrict or attendance area.

(1) The first alternative in this family combines the concept and the advantages of smaller independent districts sharing a broad tax base (B-2) together with administrative and representational decentralization within the LAUSD (C-2)

This alternative differs from the previous one (C-2) in that a number of specific responsibilities and prerogatives are delegated from the LAUSD central board and administration to each of perhaps 24 subdistrict boards, each having its own administrative apparatus. Members of the local subdistrict (or zone or attendance area) boards would be elected from that area. The LAUSD Board would be retained but would have fewer and only very general responsibilities in the areas of curriculum, instruction, and personnel (school staffing). The key central administrative functions and staff would be retained with the exception of those dealing with curriculum and instruction (including central and area offices of elementary and secondary education) and in-service training which would be decentralized to the subdistrict level. School maintenance (including shops and supply storage) and operations (custodial services) also could and probably should be decentralized to the subdistrict level.

This alternative would provide local subdistrict boards with the prerogatives of selecting, hiring, and releasing the local subdistrict (or area) superintendent. Careful definition would be required of those items for which the local subdistrict board and superintendent are responsible and those for which the central board and administration are responsible. Also required would be modifications of tenure policies, and perhaps laws, to enable teachers or administrators released by local boards to be transferred to a central pool prior to being hired by another local board, or, after some time limit, being released from his or her contract with the central board. This would facilitate needed flexibility at local levels in selecting and transferring staff.

(2) The second alternative in this family is very similar to the preceding one, but the geographic area of the new district would encompass all of Los Angeles County

This alternative would remove the present LAUSD School Board and its administration and substitute a County School Board and its administration (perhaps the Office of County Superintendent of Schools) in its place. Under this arrangement, the tax base would be County-wide. Included in the new district would be all municipalities in the County. The functions lodged at the local or subdistrict board level would be all those not reserved for the County. Specifically: hiring and firing of administrators and teachers would reside at the local level; similarly, the discretionary use of school funds; maintenance and repair activities; hiring of teaching specialists; curriculum development; and the like. At the County level would reside responsibilities for school plant construction, bidding and contracts, the allocation of funds to subdistricts, budgeting and accounting, data processing, and collective bargaining activities for teachers and tradesmen.

This alternative says, in effect, that there are significant educational benefits to be derived from smaller, relatively independent subdistricts with their boards possessing specified but limited powers and authorities; and there are important economies to be gained by retaining certain centralized activities.

2. Comparative Summary of Evaluations of Alternatives

Each of the eight alternatives was evaluated in terms of its likelihood of being able to fulfill the six organizational criteria: quality education, representation, cost, accountability, integration and implementability. The three alternatives most capable of fulfilling the criteria are, in rank order of recommendation: (D-1) Reorganize the LAUSD into subdistricts with locally elected governing boards having specified legal powers; (C-2) Decentralize both the administrative and representative functions of LAUSD; and (D-2) Reorganize to subdistricts with locally elected governing boards having specified legal powers, but on a county-wide basis. These alternatives are discussed in terms of the various mechanisms and options which would allow their being placed into operation (powers of the local governing board, possible ways of subdistricting, the nature of decisions and flexibilities to be delegated to local principals, and the like) in the following section on "Recommended Alternatives".

In this section, the various evaluations of all eight are discussed and summarized in a comparative fashion. For an overview, the reader is encouraged to examine Exhibit III-3, Summary of Evaluations, on the following page before reading the individual evaluations.

a. Family "A" - Keep the Present LAUSD Organization Form

The ability of the present organization form to fulfill the various criteria was discussed at length in the section on "The Need for Reorganization". A re-examination here would be redundant, and the reader wishing to understand the reasoning behind the family "A" columns in Exhibit III-3 is encouraged to review the section on The Need for Reorganization.

b. Family "B" - Divide LAUSD into Approximately 20 Independent Districts

The two alternatives in this family can be treated jointly, with a couple of exceptions noted later, for purposes of summarizing the evaluations.

(1) Quality Education

The removal of central LAUSD administration and services implied in these two alternatives would mean that educational policies, curricula, and decision-making would be more individualized, at least to the smaller district level. While this would itself be instrumental in improving the quality of education, the addition of more effective representation of many parties-in-interest (see below) and their having sanctions to assure accountability combine to provide an even greater likelihood of improving the quality of education. The limitations in both alternatives relate to the likely homogeneity of the smaller independent districts and the operations more suitable for a larger, more broadly based, organization. First, the R&D function is one which, is benefitted by heterogeneity and which has some economies of scale probably not accruing to a small and/or homogeneous district. And, second, the specialized education schools and programs such as for the mentally retarded or the physically handicapped are not likely to be efficiently or effectively handled and would have to be assumed by the county or some other inter-district organization.

Exhibit III-3

Summary of Evaluations

	FAMILY A		FAMILY B		FAMILY C		FAMILY D	
	Keep Present Organization Form		Divide LAUSD Into Approx. 20 Independent Districts		Decentralize LAUSD		Reorganize to Subdistricts Having Local Governing Boards	
	Stay the same	Add resources	Completely independent	Completely independent but share tax base	Administratively only	Administratively & Representationally	Within LAUSD	On Los Angeles County basis
QUALITY EDUCATION	Poor and little likelihood of improvement.	Some likelihood of improvement.	Improved local definition of and responsiveness to particular needs.		Improved potential to deliver a quality education.	Improved ability to define needs & potential to deliver quality education.	Improved definition of & responsiveness to particular needs plus enhanced capability to deliver a quality education.	
REPRESENTATION	Inadequate for many parties at interest.		Significantly improved ability to have nearly all parties at interest represented at policy level. Provides sanctions for assuring accountability.		Almost totally inadequate for most parties.	Improved possibility to present views needing representation. Doesn't assure accountability.	Significantly improved ability to have all parties at interest represented at relevant policy levels. Provides sanctions for assuring accountability.	
INTEGRATION	Difficult, but can be accomplished in Gittelson terms.		As a practical matter, this alternative would deny any workable means of integration for overall area presently within LAUSD.		Difficult, but can be accomplished in Gittelson terms.	Difficult but accomplishable -- puts commuting burden on advisory council members.	Difficult but accomplishable -- puts commuting burden on elected area & local board members.	Eases task in terms of Gittelson Ruling -- puts commuting burden on elected area & local board members.
COST	Present base line.	Greater cost and diminishing returns.	Replication of various centralized functions and services would increase cost per student. Output per dollar would probably increase slightly.		Substantial degree of reorganization is possible at no increase in cost.		Substantial degree of reorganization is possible at no increase in cost.	Encounters substantial one-time starting costs plus reconciliation of salary & retirement fund schedules.
					Significantly improves technical efficiency in use of funds thru direct actions improving quality of education by reallocating central staff resources or their equivalents closer to schools.		Significantly improves technical efficienty in use of funds thru direct actions improving quality of education by reallocating central staff resources or their equivalents closer to schools.	
ACCOUNTABILITY	Poor in social, political, and educational senses of accountability. Financial accountability could be improved.		Improved social, political, educational and financial accountability.		Pdor in social & political sense; educational and financial accountability is capable of significant improvement.	Acceptable to some parties at interest in educational, social, political, & financial senses of accountability.	Optimally effective degree of educational, social, political & financial accountability among the various alternatives.	
IMPLEMENTABILITY	Citizens and professionals oppose.	Minimal effort required but support and funding unlikely.	Very difficult; coalition of citizens oppose this possibility.	Very difficult to assure intent carried out unless LAUSD Board is maintained as money allocating board.	Minimal effort required but substantial coalition of citizens think selected advisory committees are inadequate & unworkable.	Relatively easy to implement socially & politically but will require considerable energy to assure that spirit as well as letter of intent is achieved.	Relatively easy to implement socially & politically. Accountability function will more likely assure that spirit as well as letter of intent is achieved.	Communities not in LAUSD likely to oppose strongly. They will have support from teachers, administrators and some taxpayers.

Arthur D Little Inc

(2) Representation

With each new district having its own governing board and superintendent, the ability of almost all parties-in-interest to have effective representation at the policy level is substantially enhanced. As the complete sanctions provided by law to a governing board would apply, these two alternatives would provide the maximum assurance among all of the alternatives for local accountability as effected through the representational function. Selected parties-in-interest would find their present representational effectiveness diminished, not in theory, but in fact. For example, the present Association of Elementary Principals and the several unions would find their grievance handling mechanisms and "lobbying" capabilities fragmented as they would need to respond to and negotiate with multiple policy-making boards.

(3) Integration

While not theoretically out of the question, integration, either of aptitude and socioeconomic background or of racial composition, would be rendered unworkable in practical terms. The gerrymandering of districts would not accomplish the task (unless each district consisted of two non-contiguous geographic areas)[2] and the independent contracting between districts for the bussing of students is even more remote politically because the cost of bussing would be different from district to district thus adding to an already tense and confusing situation.

(4) Cost

The quality side of the cost/effectiveness question would theoretically be more readily handled than in the present circumstances or than in other alternatives because the local governing board having all the legal powers can determine the local needs more precisely and negotiate or mandate the reallocation of total resources in a manner which none of the other alternatives can accomplish. However, as they are faced with having to undertake, individually, all of the various time consuming negotiations with the various unions, the various outside suppliers and contractors, and so on, their time to develop individualized educational policies will be diminished. Therefore, many of the supposed educational advantages may not be in fact achieved. A similar argument can be made with regard to such administrative services as accounting and data processing, bulk order purchases, Research and Development and the like. For these reasons, the total unit cost per student would be likely to rise, even though the output per dollar would also be likely to rise slightly.

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[2] See the discussion of integration and bussing under "The Need for Reorganization" above.

(5) Accountability

As the sanctions for accountability would reside with the new smaller district governing boards the two alternatives in this family would provide maximum assurance for local accountability. However, in view of replication of functions at both the board and superintendent levels, it is not certain that the important functions of planning and evaluating will receive any more time in an equivalent sense than at present. Certainly less time could be devoted in this alternative than in several of the other alternatives (most notably D-1, C-2 and D-2). Furthermore, in view of the efficiencies to be gained in R&D by having heterogeneous populations and a larger scale of operation, it is less likely that thorough evaluations of experimental or innovative programs will be conducted.

(6) Implementability

This criterion is the one on which this family of alternatives suffers the greatest relative disadvantage. There is very little inter-group support for implementation and very great inter-group support for this alternative and considerable inter-group opposition. While the question of dividing the LAUSD into independent districts was not specifically included in the public hearings, a total of 66 witnesses made mention of it, with 38 being directly opposed and one additional witness being opposed unless all other possibilities were unworkable.[3] Similarly, in evaluation work sessions with parents, citizen opinion leaders, principals, and interviews with administrators and board members, there were substantial coalitions of persons who, while disagreeing on what to do, were united in their opposition to dividing LAUSD into smaller independent districts.[4]

Interestingly enough, a slight majority of teachers (55 percent) favored splitting the district giving as their primary reasons improved response to local needs and greater local participation.[5]

In terms of the first of the two alternatives in this family (independent districts with independent tax bases),

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[3] See Appendix F, "Summary of Public Hearings".

[4] See Appendix B, Section 1, "Board Member Interviews"; Section 2, "Principal Interviews"; and Section 5, "Administrator Interviews"; and Appendix E, "Evaluations of Alternatives by Various Parties-in-Interest". The same pattern of evaluation is evident in the hearings; see Appendix F.

[5] See Appendix D, "Survey of LAUSD Teaching Personnel".

Professor H. Thomas James, Dean of the Stanford University School of Education, has made some estimates of the fiscal consequences of a set of options which lead to a dividing of the LAUSD into smaller independent districts. He concluded that:

> ". . . no advantage can be gained by fracturing the tax base of the Los Angeles Unified School District by any of the options examined. Furthermore, since any other components of splitting the district remain unchanged when the centralized tax base is maintained, there appears to be no foundation for positing that an independent tax base is a requisite element of either political decentralization or community control.
>
> Conversely, a preponderance of the evidence indicates that fiscal resources should remain centrally determined and be disbursed to the decentralized districts in the form of a lump-sum budget."[6]

Beyond the fiscal implications he suggests:

> "As a note of caution in any serious discussions of breaking up the tax base of the LAUSD, we should keep in mind a number of pending law cases considered by Constitutional scholars to be soundly conceived which challenge local differences in school expenditures as a violation by the states of the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment, e.g., Board of Education v. Michigan Cir. Ct. Mich., Wayne County, filed February 2, 1968."[7]

Finally, in the case of the second alternative of this family (independent smaller districts with a shared tax base), there would need to be some inter-district or super-district representative body charged with the responsibility for allocating funds according to some formula of need.

c. Family "C" - Decentralize LAUSD

In this family, the two alternatives will be referred to as administrative decentralization (C-1) and decentralization with elected advisory councils for each school (C-2). They are similar in many respects and are discussed together, with special comments where they are different in ability to fulfull a particular criterion.

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[6] See Appendix I, "Selected Evaluations of Alternatives".

[7] Ibid.

(1) Quality Education

Both alternatives, by moving such functions as the planning and curriculum and personnel decision-making closer to the individual school level, increase the potential ability to deliver an improved quality of education by individualizing the instructional content. However, in the first alternative (C-1), there is no provision for local parents and citizens to assist in defining educational needs and establishing priorities. Without this function of defining local needs, the potential for improved quality is unlikely to be realized. Even in the second alternative (C-2) where there is an elected advisory council to perform the function, the potential, if one is to judge from the experience of the advisory councils for the 13-18 school project and from similar experiences in New York City and elsewhere, is not likely to be realized because the principal is not accountable to the local community (i.e. the advice can be ignored). [8] These shortcomings render the likelihood of improving quality of education very unlikely in the first case (C-1) and, from the experiences of other cities such as New York, the second (C-2), while more promising, has also failed on this criterion. [9]

(2) Representation

A key reason for the improbability that these alternatives will fulfill the quality criterion is their inability to fulfill the criterion of representation. In the second case (C-2), advisory councils can, under optimum organizational conditions such as a principal who recognizes and acts upon the advice of his council and who is supported by his area superintendent, adequately perform the role of representation by defining educational needs and establishing priorities. However, the second role of exercising sanctions cannot be performed in an advisory capacity.[10] The present sanctions are widely dispersed and come together only at the central administration and board level. [11] Even if sanctions were delegated to geographic areas by the use of unified area superintendents, the ultimate sanctions of representation would still reside at the LAUSD board. The first alternative (C-1) without a provision for an advisory council is not capable of defining educational needs and

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[8] See Appendix I, Section B, "Administrative Decentralization".

[9] Rogers, David, 110 Livingston Street, New York: Random House, 1968, pp. 370-384.

[10] Ibid.

[11] See "The Need for Reorganization" above.

establishing priorities except in the most favorable of circumstances.[12]

(3) Integration

Both alternatives in this family are capable of meeting the integration criterion. However, as the racial integration ruling requires bussing, the use of elected advisory councils will be more difficult to implement, in its spirit, because the parents of bussed children in order to be elected or to serve on an advisory council will need to commute to the school. This places a greater economic burden (automobile operating costs, baby sitting fees, and the like), proportionally, on the lower socio-economic parents. Furthermore, if the Gittelson ruling is fully met, the lower socio-economic parents (principally blacks and browns from the center city) will always be a minority in an advisory council election process. Thus, it is unlikely, if the Gittelson ruling is met, that advisory councils can even perform the role of defining needs and establishing priorities in an effective manner, as all the forces (economic, social and elective) trend against the minority group members.

(4) Cost

In both alternatives, a substantial decentralization by the removal of central staff coupled with new deployments of staff closer to the schools can be accomplished at no increase in operating cost.[13] Thus, both alternatives are capable of meeting the less stringent cost criterion set forth above.[14]

(5) Accountability

For this criterion, the discussions must be differentiated. In the first alternative (C-1), educational and financial accounting measures can be substantially improved in keeping with an objective of individualization. However, the planning and evaluation functions are judged as unlikely to improve because the local community is neither involved, nor has

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12 Many parents and citizen opinion leaders assumed the use of advisory councils if administrative decentralization were to be undertaken.

13 See Appendix H, "New Staff Deployments Possible with Budget Savings from Central Office and Area Level Reorganization"

14 See the discussion on cost set forth in the above section on "Criteria", pp. III-10 thru III-14.

it any sanctions to exercise so as to insure even the objective of individualizing the instructional process being achieved. Thus, two of the major functional aspects, planning and implementing accountability, are missing at the decentralized community level. These are presently missing LAUSD and frequently cited as serious limitations by various parties-in-interest.[15]

In the second alternative (C-2), the use of elected advisory councils facilitates local planning for individualizing instruction, but still fails to assure the implementing of accountability. This limitation is judged to be serious as it limits effective representation and, in the cases studied in other cities, appears to be related to a lack of improvement in quality of education.[16] The parents and community opinion leaders were almost evenly split on the issue of whether an advisory board should be only advisory or should have some limited authority over the principal.[17] However, in New York, the original local school boards had only advisory powers and the frustration of seeing advice ignored led to increasing demands for at least limited authority in the system.[18] The conclusion is that neither of these alternatives (C-1 or C-2) is likely to be able to meet the accountability criterion. This furthermore seriously weakens the abilities of either alternative to fulfill the criteria of representation or quality education, although the first (C-1) is considerably weaker in all three criteria than the second (C-2).

(6) Implementability

Parents, citizens, teachers, administrators, and present board members all openly endorse efforts to reorganize by placing more of the planning and curriculum and personnel decision-making authority closer to the individual schools.[19] However, in terms of local participation and representation, almost all expect a school level advisory council, and a large majority in all groups favor the elective process for local representation. They are almost evenly split on the question of powers for the advisory council. Furthermore, those having experience as advisory council members (especially blacks and browns) are already showing frustration at not having their

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15 See Appendixes E and F.

16 Rogers, David, 110 Livingston Street, New York: Random House, 1968, p. 381.

17 See Appendixes E and F.

18 Rogers, David, op. cit., pp. 370-384.

19 See Appendixes B, D, E, and F.

advice adequately considered. This is parallel to the New York situation, and advisory council members, if this alternative were to be implemented, could be expected to evolve considerable pressure for more authority. Finally, a minority of persons, especially from the black, and a part of the brown, community are opposed to an "advisory only" capacity.

d. Family "D" - Reorganize to Sub-districts Having Locally-Elected Governing Boards with Special Powers

This family, using sub-districts with locally-elected governing boards having specified powers, is considerably enhanced in its ability to meet the criteria of quality education, representation, integration and accountability. Again, the discussion of this family will consider the two alternatives jointly, with differences being noted where relevant.

(1) Quality Education

Both alternatives provide the improved definition of and responsiveness to particular needs; educational policies, curricula, and decision-making could be more individualized, as was the case with decentralization, at least to the smaller sub-district level. The addition of more effective representation of all parties-in-interest (see below) and their having specific sanctions to assure accountability combine to provide a high likelihood of improving the quality of education. In this respect it is similar to and has the particular strengths of the independent district alternatives (B-1 and B-2 above). Furthermore, it capitalizes on the heterogeniety of the overall LAUSD and realizes the possible scale economies of R&D, thus gaining even more of a potential for enhancing the quality of education when combined with the improved accountability. Finally, the specialized education schools and programs such as for the mentally retarded or physically handicapped could be efficiently handled through a centralized operating division thereby realizing the possible economies of scale.

(2) Representation

Both alternatives are capable of realizing the criterion of effective representation in a manner similar, but not equal to, the independent district alternatives (B-1 and B-2). As the subdistrict governing boards in these alternatives (D-1 and D-2) would not have the full authorities of an independent district governing board, some elective mechanism for the central district board (LAUSD or County) would need to be established if complete representativeness of local needs and priorities is to be assured in exercising the residual central board authorities. (See below for a discussion of accountability.) The strength of this ability to have all

parties-in-interest represented at relevant policy levels is in its ability to assure accountability and thus improve the quality of education through adequate definitions of represented educational needs and identification of priorities which are likely to be acted upon.

(3) Integration

Both alternatives are capable of fulfilling the criterion of integration. The second (D-2 the county-wide alternative) is likely to ease the bussing requirement in terms of the racial and ethnic criterion set forth by Judge Gittelson. This is because of the increased number of opportunities for gerrymandering subdistrict attendance areas and because a number of the "islands" of black, brown and white concentrated populations are more favorably situated to minimize bussing distances if the overall metropolitan area within the county is considered rather than the oddly shaped LAUSD. A note of caution must be added if the "not less than ten percent" portion of the ruling were to be extended into the less populated eastern portion of the county: the bussing distances there could become quite large and might defeat the potential advantages available in the metropolitan area.((A specific examination would have to be made if this alternative -- D-2 -- were to be pursued.)

Both alternatives would, if bussing were put into effect to meet the Gittelson ruling, place the greater relative burden on lower socio-economic parents and citizens (primarily blacks and browns) wishing to be elected to either the subdistrict governing board or the local school advisory board. Furthermore, in the case of the latter the minority parents would, in all cases, be a minority of the electorate for the school advisory boards. In the case of the subdistricts, if comprised of two non-contiguous high schools and their feeder schools paired so as to make the subdistrict meet the Gittelson ruling, minority parents and citizens would also tend to be a minority of the subdistrict electorate. However, the incentives afforded by elected responsibility and sanctions for accountability can be expected to overcome much of the apathy and frustration likely to come about if the school advisory boards were advisory only and/or if there were no subdistrict boards with specified powers.

(4) Cost

Here the two alternatives need separate discussion. In the case of the first alternative (D-1), substantial reorganization can be accomplished at no increase in operating cost.[20] There are transitional costs associated with requirements to maintain certain centrally located staff at a specified level of pay for up to two years. However, the planning of such a

[20] See Appendix H.

transition would require a year and thus the true transition costs of temporarily over-staffing would be likely to occur only during the second year. Finally, the potential of improved output per dollar would be more likely to be realized in this alternative, because of the improved representation and assurance of accountability than in the previous alternative (C-2).

The second alternative (D-2) is more difficult to evaluate as other small unified school districts were not explicitly examined. However, it is possible, in view of the total unit operating costs shown in Exhibit III-2, that not only would the larger unified school districts realize improved output at the same cost in a fashion similar to LAUSD, but the very small and non-unified districts might accomplish both improved output and lower operating costs. This question would require specific study if this alternative (D-2) were to be implemented. Another, and a more difficult issue, would be the very substantial one-time costs associated with putting all of the various, presently independent, districts' accounting and records on a common basis. Similarly, a reconciliation of retirement funds and salary schedules would be necessary. These latter issues would also need to be explored.

(5) Accountability

Both alternatives offer an optimum situation in terms of accountability. The local and/or subdistrict sanctions provide both the input for individualized planning (definition of educational needs and identification of local priorities) and the assurance that the other functions of accountability, assignment of responsibility, evaluation, and implementation, will most likely be performed on an individualized basis. Furthermore, the heterogeneity of subdistricts (within and/or between) plus the potentially realizable economies of scale of R&D, combine to make it more likely that effective evaluation of experimental or innovative programs will be accomplished. With the development of an appropriate central or inter-subdistrict information system to communicate results of evaluations (regular performance measures such as standardized testing as well as experimental and innovative programs) the various subdistrict boards would be likely to assure more rapid adoption of relevant efforts and programs than the present LAUSD system. One would expect such adoption to be more rapidly adopted under these alternatives (D-1 and D-2) than under the previous alternative (C-2) because of their improved ability to fulfill the accountability criterion.

(6) Implementability

Here again, the two alternatives in this family need separate discussion. In the case of the first alternative (D-1), the majority of all parties-in-interest endorse and encourage actions which locate the planning and curricula and personnel decision-making closer to the individual schools.[21] However, there is an issue as to how much authority a locally-elected group should exercise, either at the subdistrict or the individual school level.

Evaluations of alternatives by various parties-in-interest indicates fairly sharply divided preferences for powers. Parents and citizen opinion leaders divide on the issue, with 49 percent in favor of the concept of an elected community school board to which the principal must answer for selected policies and procedures, 48 percent opposed and two percent not caring.[22]

Opinions in the issue appear related to socioeconomic situation: a large proportion of the middle class parents tends to prefer only the advisory role of defining needs while larger proportions of both the upper and lower socioeconomic classes tend to add the role of accountability (i.e., specified powers) to the role of defining needs. The upward-mobile middle classes is opposed to extending the power of accountability to a locally elected body for fear that radicals might gain control and threaten their children's upward mobile status by over-emphasizing remedial education efforts or adding disproportionate resources to vocational education, thereby leaving relatively less resources for college preparatory courses. The upper classes do not have to suffer this fear to the same extent as they have the personal resources to "buy" their children's college preparatory education privately and also gain the accountability factor through that purchase.[23] These fears would be enchanced and thus need to be dealt with in the process of implementation by a non-contiguous two high school subdistrict, and mitigated by the two contiguous high school subdistricts.

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21 See Appendixes F, D, E and F.

22 The missing one percent is due to rounding; see Appendix E.

23 See Appendix E.

The second alternative (D-2) is likely to encounter serious resistance from citizens and members of school districts not presently part of the LAUSD, particularly in view of the various cost issues needing resolution (see above). They are likely to have support from their local teachers, administrators and some taxpayers. An indication of resistance is seen by the fact that some areas (Vernon and Maywood) presently wish to secede from LAUSD.

D. Recommended Alternatives for District Reorganization

Three alternatives received relatively good ratings when compared against the selected criteria. They are, in rank order of recommendation: (D-1) Reorganize LAUSD into subdistricts with locally elected governing boards having specified legal powers; (C-2) Decentralize both the administrative and representational functions of LAUSD; and (D-2) Reorganize to subdistricts with locally elected governing boards having specified legal powers, but on a County-wide basis. All three go considerably beyond the typical willingness of a school district to voluntarily change and the implementation of any one will, in all likelihood, require a mandate from the Legislature. This section of the report discusses the various general mechanisms required for implementation and the options available.

We recommend these three alternatives to the Joint Committee as possible general models for the reorganization of large urban unified school districts. It is our opinion that the first alternative (D-1) is clearly superior to the other two (C-2 and D-2) but that the other two are superior to the remaining five.

After making that recommendation, however, it is necessary to record a statement of caution or qualification. As indicated in our proposal, this study was concerned primarily with strategic policy planning issues, and not with the tactical problems of planning for or costing out the details of implementing organizational change. Provision for addressing and resolving the myriad tactical problems accompanying any significant organizational change should be made by the Joint Committee in any legislative proposal to mandate a new form of district organization for the large urban unified school districts of the State. While the content of this study report documents the need for change and the directions change should take, it certainly provides no blueprint for school districts to effect such change.

1. Alternative D-1: Reorganize LAUSD Into Subdistricts with Locally Elected Governing Boards Having Specified Legal Powers.

a. Number and Geographic Definition of Subdistricts

For the number of subdistricts, the information on economies of scale, and the analysis of new deployments possible with the potential savings of reorganizing the central and area offices indicate upper and lower numbers of students as practical sizes. The former indicates there is no economic reason to have a subdistrict larger than approximately 25,000 to 30,000 students; while tha latter analysis suggests that an organization of less than 15,000 to 20,000 students may not be able to make fully effective use of any savings from reorganizing central

and area offices. Furthermore, the problems inherent in maintaining separate elementary and secondary divisions (articulation, teacher certification effects, and so on) indicate a need for a truly unified subdistrict making the high school and its feeder schools the basic building block. Therefore, in view of the limited information as to the "optimum sized district", and based on these three operating realities, there should be 24 subdistricts consisting of two high schools and their feeder schools.

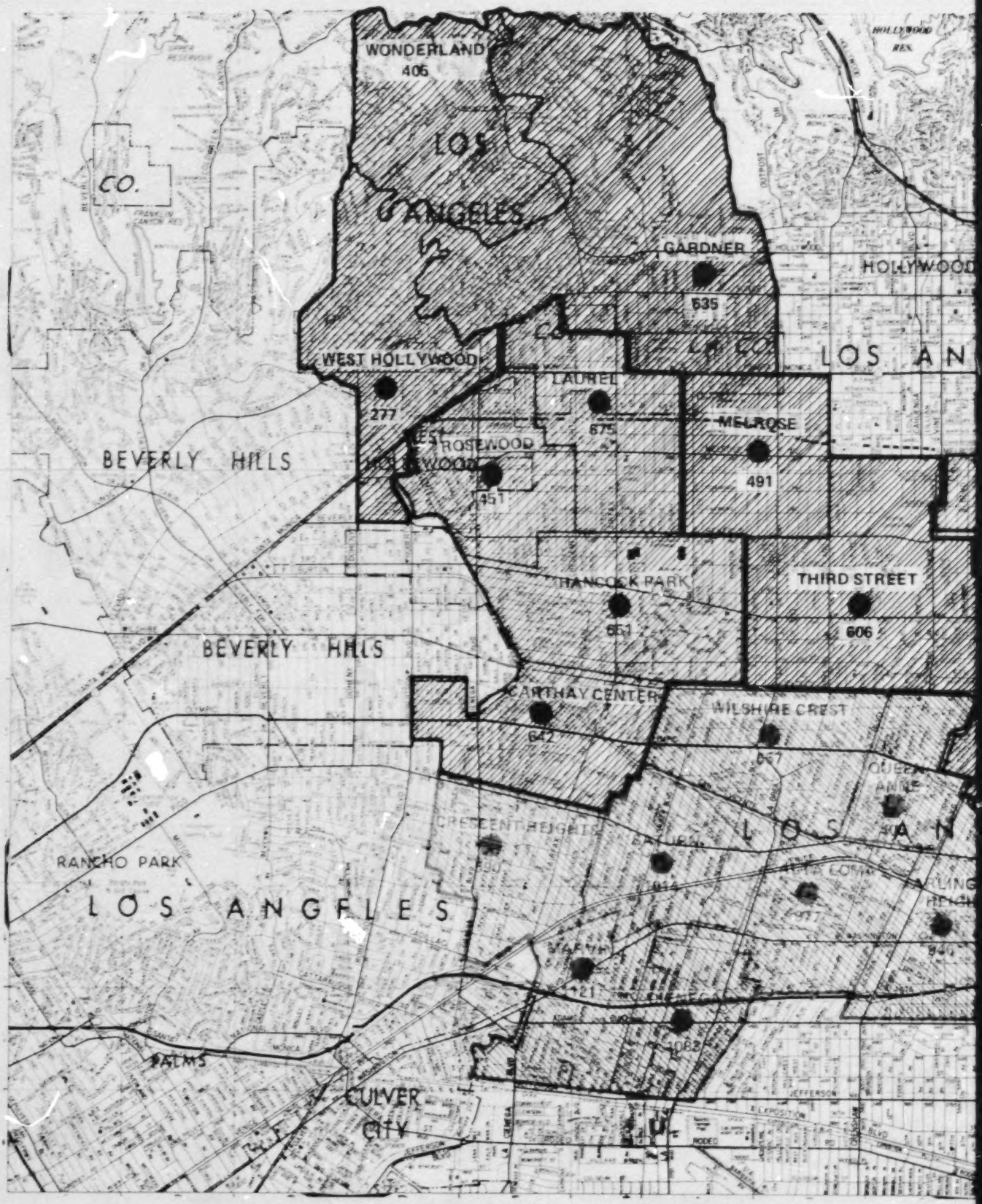
The matter of geographic definition is one requiring considerable effort and which has two options based on meeting or not meeting the Gettelson ruling. The basic issue requiring effort is to reconcile the attendance area boundaries of senior high, junior high, and elementary schools.

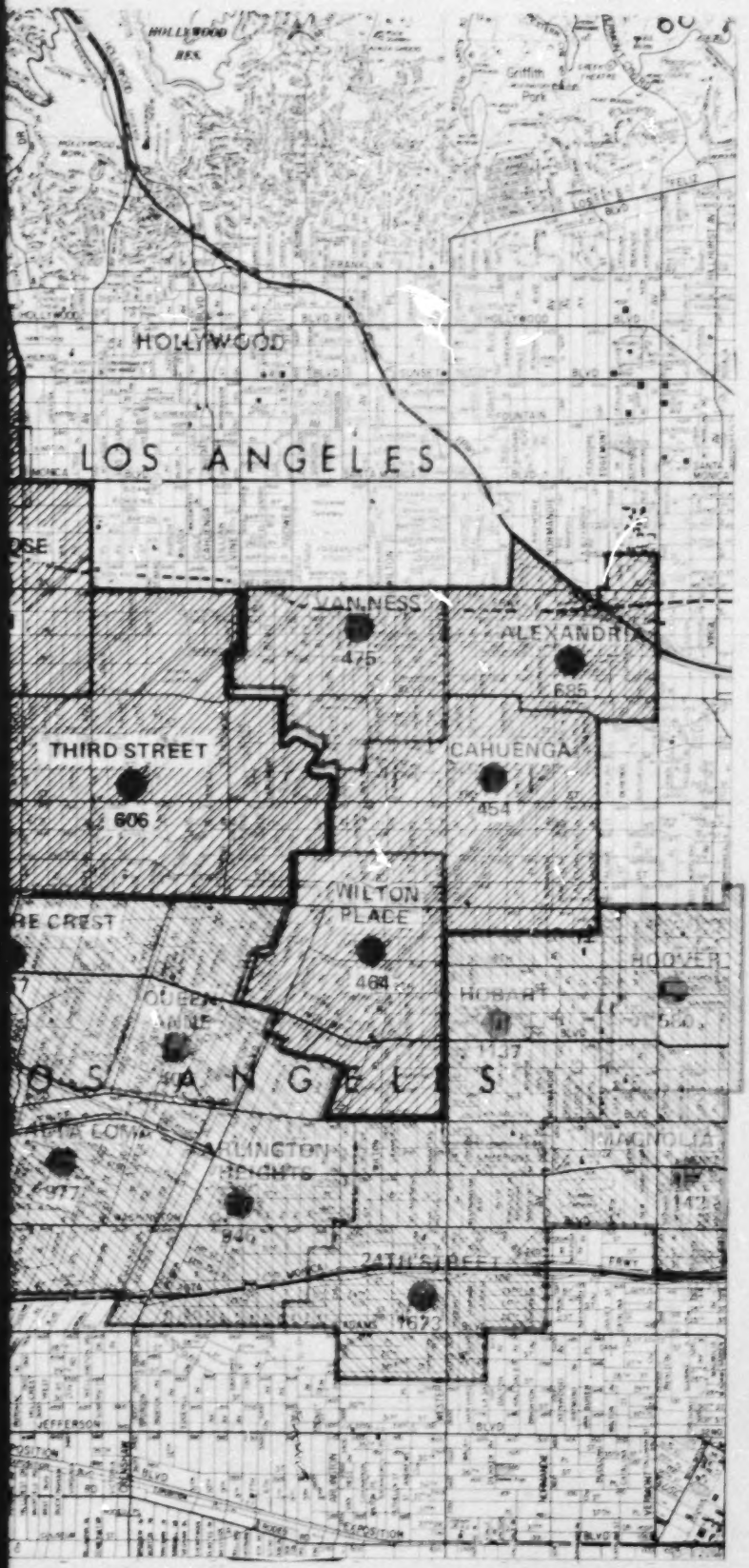
Present attendance area boundaries are a confused jumble, partly because the Divisions of Elementary and Secondary Education have been separate and relatively poorly coordinated in many respects, and partly because the population densities and family compositions around schools built one or more decades ago have changed substantially. We have mapped the overlapping boundaries for two exemplary areas, one in West Los Angeles, and one for the Valley area. They have also been prepared as overlays. The first map in each series shows Elementary attendance areas, coded by racial and ethnic composition; the second shows Junior High School attendance areas similarly coded; and the third, High School attendance areas; a fourth map and overlay shows the jumble of attendance areas needing reconciliation. As can be seen, the two high school and related feeder school patterns are presently confused, primarily owing to the separate gerrymandering of boundaries for each level. The very difficult problem in reconciliation is the one of differential dropout rates in different areas of the city. In the central city where the dropout rate is very high, the high school can encompass significantly more feeder schools than in the outlying areas where dropout rates are substantially lower.

The basic concept for redistricting is one of making the High School attendance area boundaries coterminous with its feeder school attendance area boundaries where the means for handling the dropout rate is to use a statistical concept of expected junior high school classrooms needed per elementary school and expected high school classrooms needed per junior high school. In this fashion, the capacities can be matched and the boundaries drawn coterminously.

Once the preceding has been accomplished, the principal criteria for subdistricting are:

- Two High School attendance areas drawn coterminously (on the outer limits) with the relevant elementary and junior high feeder schools.

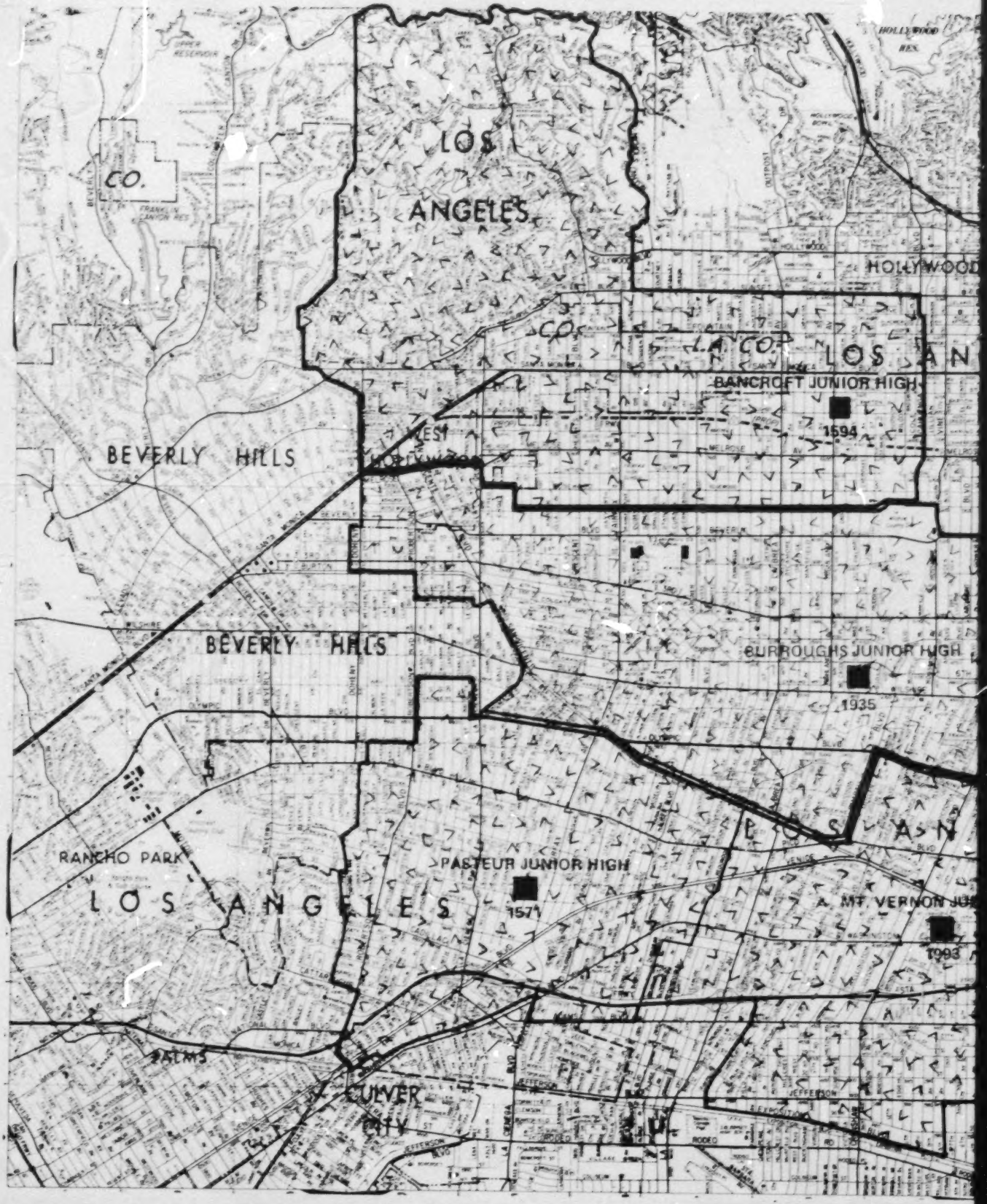

WONDERLAND
405
LOS
ANGELES
CO.
GARDNER
635
HOLLYWOOD
WEST HOLLYWOOD
277
LAUREL
675
MELROSE
491
ROSEWOOD
451
BEVERLY HILLS
HANCOCK PARK
651
THIRD STREET
606
BEVERLY HILLS
CARTHAY CENTER
642
WILSHIRE CREST
667
CRESCENT HEIGHTS
RANCHO PARK
LOS ANGELES
PALMS
CULVER
CITY

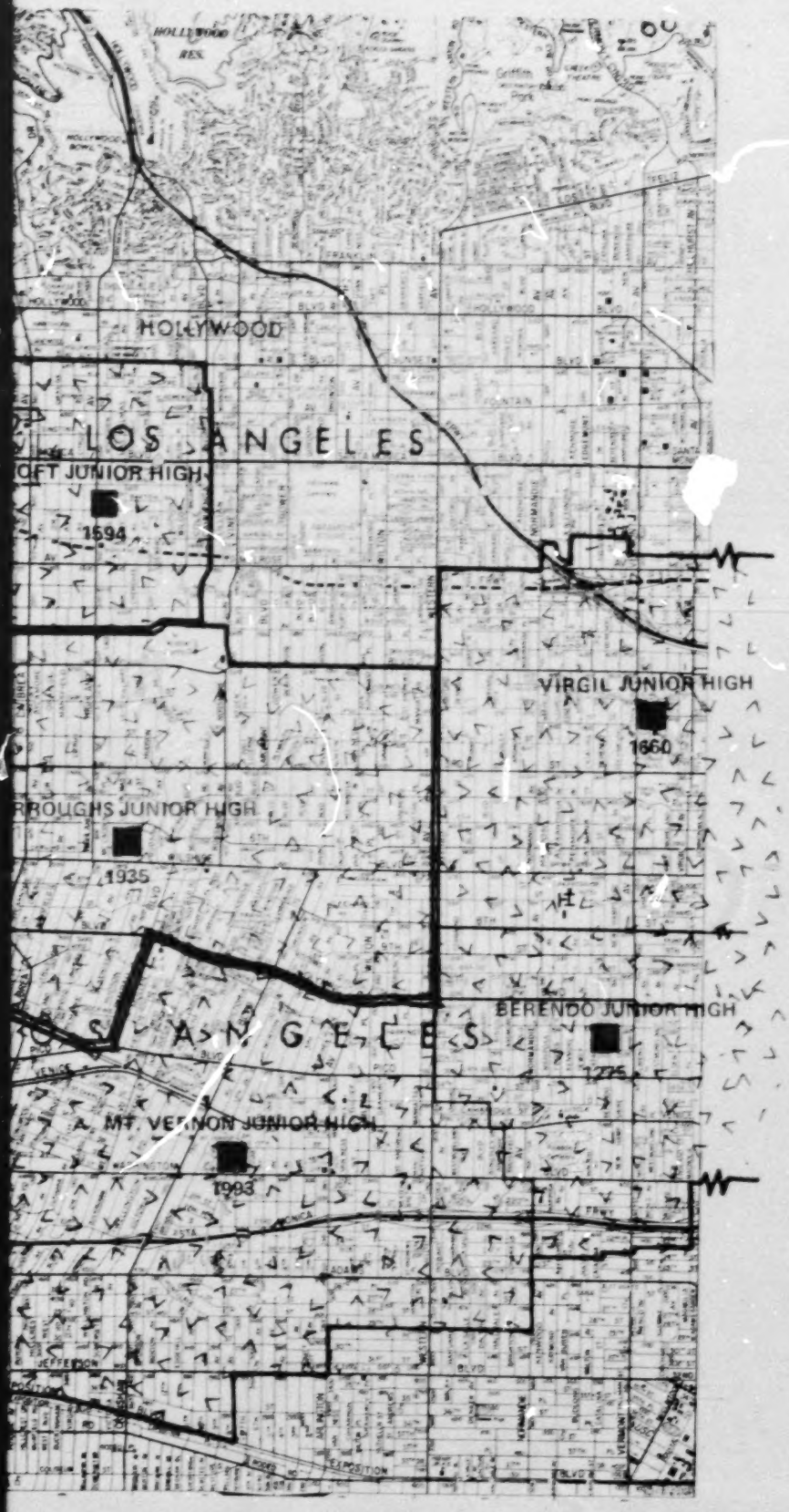


Legend:

- Less than 10% Minority Groups
- More than 10% + Less than 50% Minority Groups
- 50% or More Minority Groups

PRESENT ELEMENTARY SCHOOL ATTENDANCE AREAS

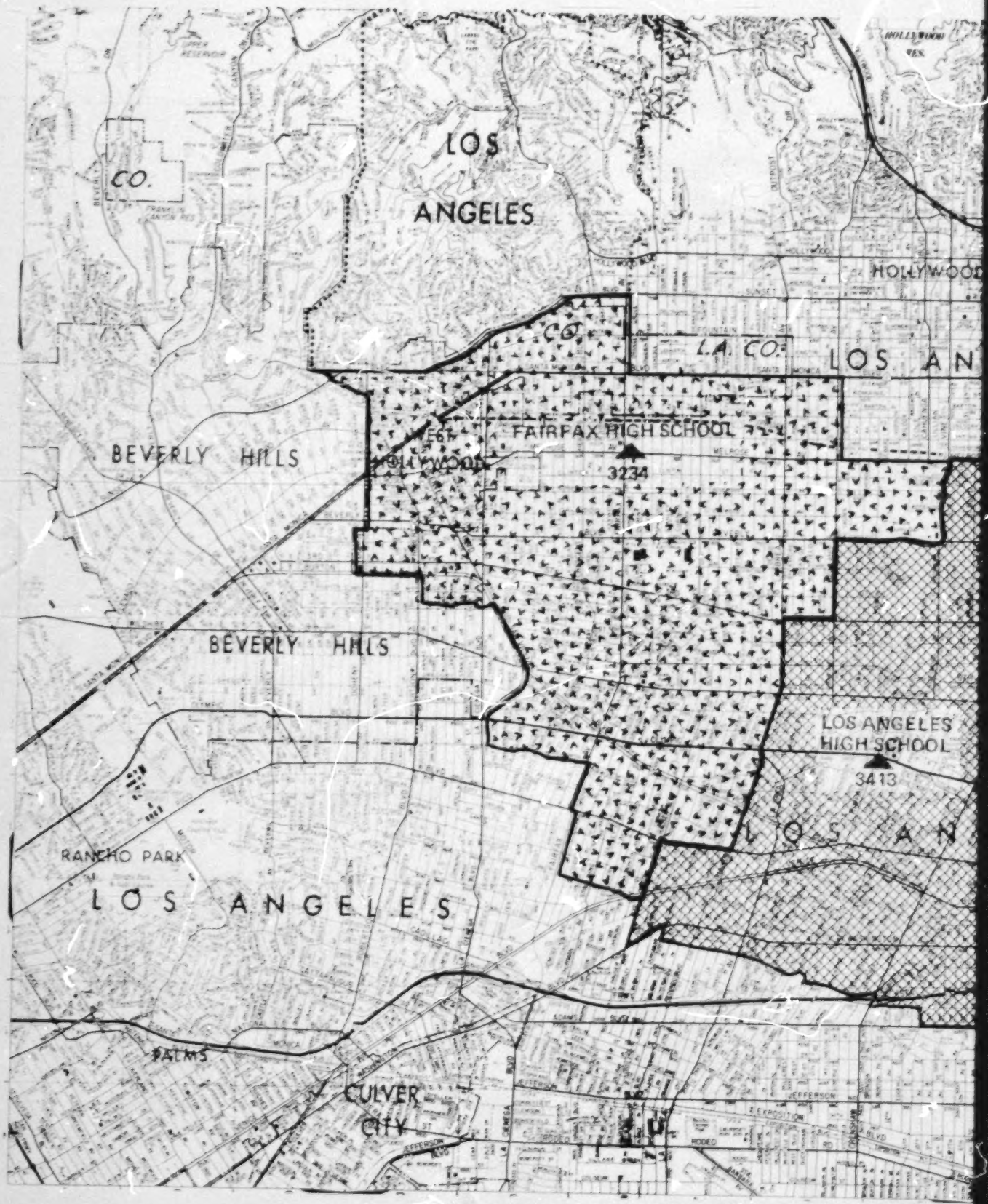

LOS
ANGELES
CO.
HOLLYWOOD
L.A. CO.
LOS AN
BANCROFT JUNIOR HIGH
1594
BEVERLY HILLS
BEVERLY HILLS
BURROUGHS JUNIOR HIGH
1935
RANCHO PARK
LOS ANGELES
PASTEUR JUNIOR HIGH
1571
MT. VERNON JU
1993
PALMS
CULVER
CITY

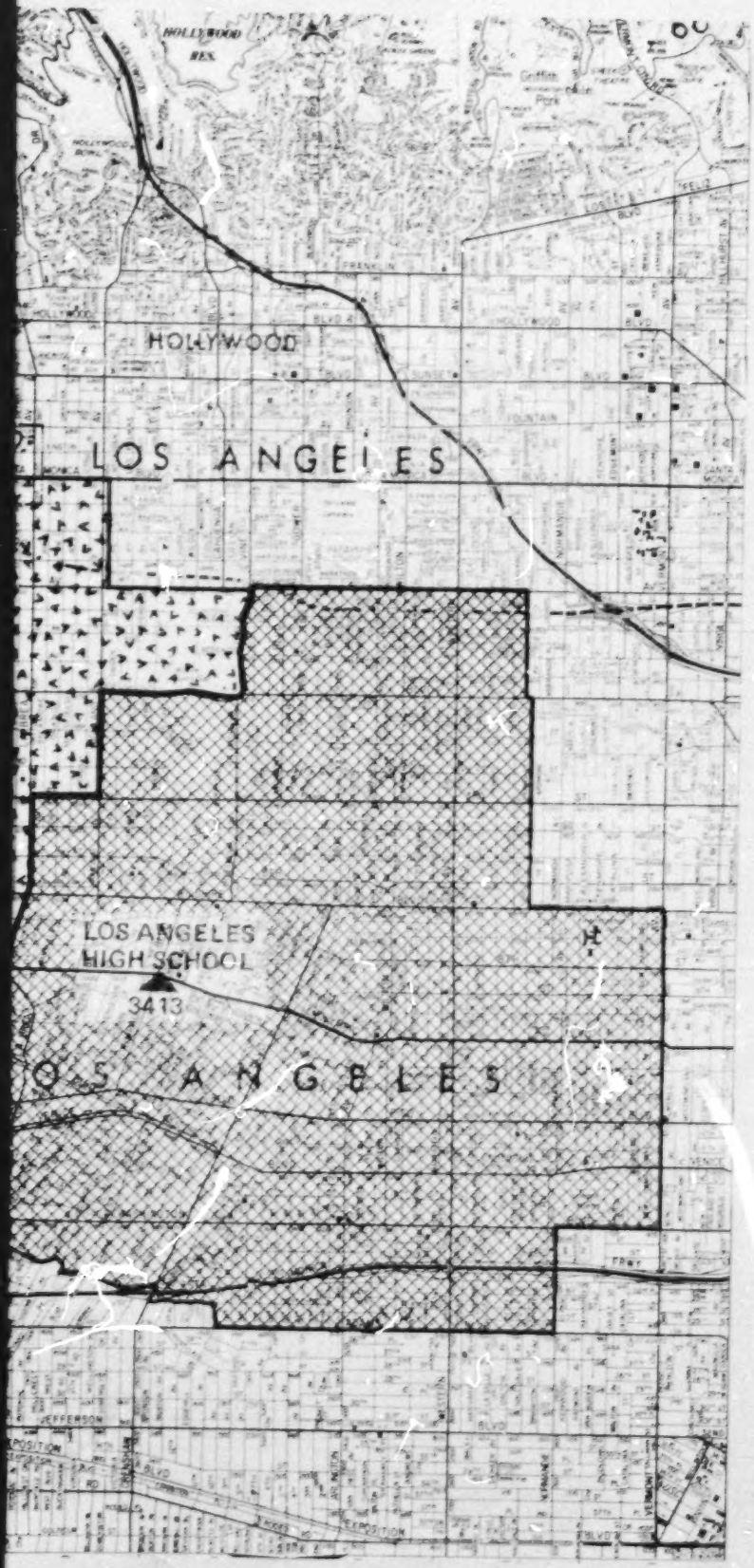


Legend:

- Less than 10% Minority Groups
- More than 10% + Less than 50% Minority Groups
- 50% or More Minority Groups

PRESENT JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL ATTENDANCE AREAS


LOS
ANGELES
CO.
HOLLYWOOD
CO.
L.A. CO.
LOS AN
FAIRFAX HIGH SCHOOL
3234
BEVERLY HILLS
HOLLYWOOD
BEVERLY HILLS
LOS ANGELES
HIGH SCHOOL
3413
L O S A N
RANCHO PARK
LOS ANGELES
PALMS
CULVER
CITY

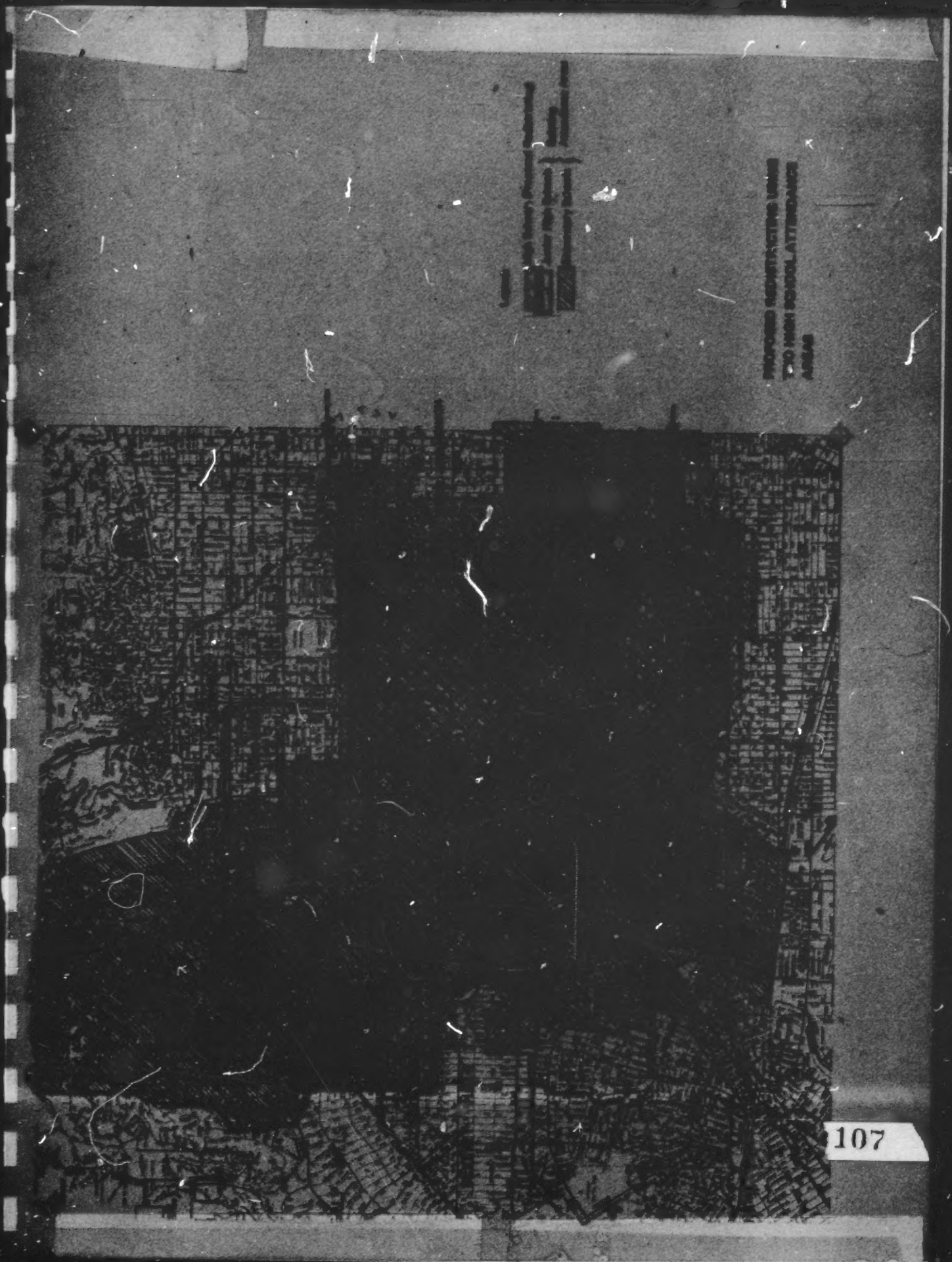


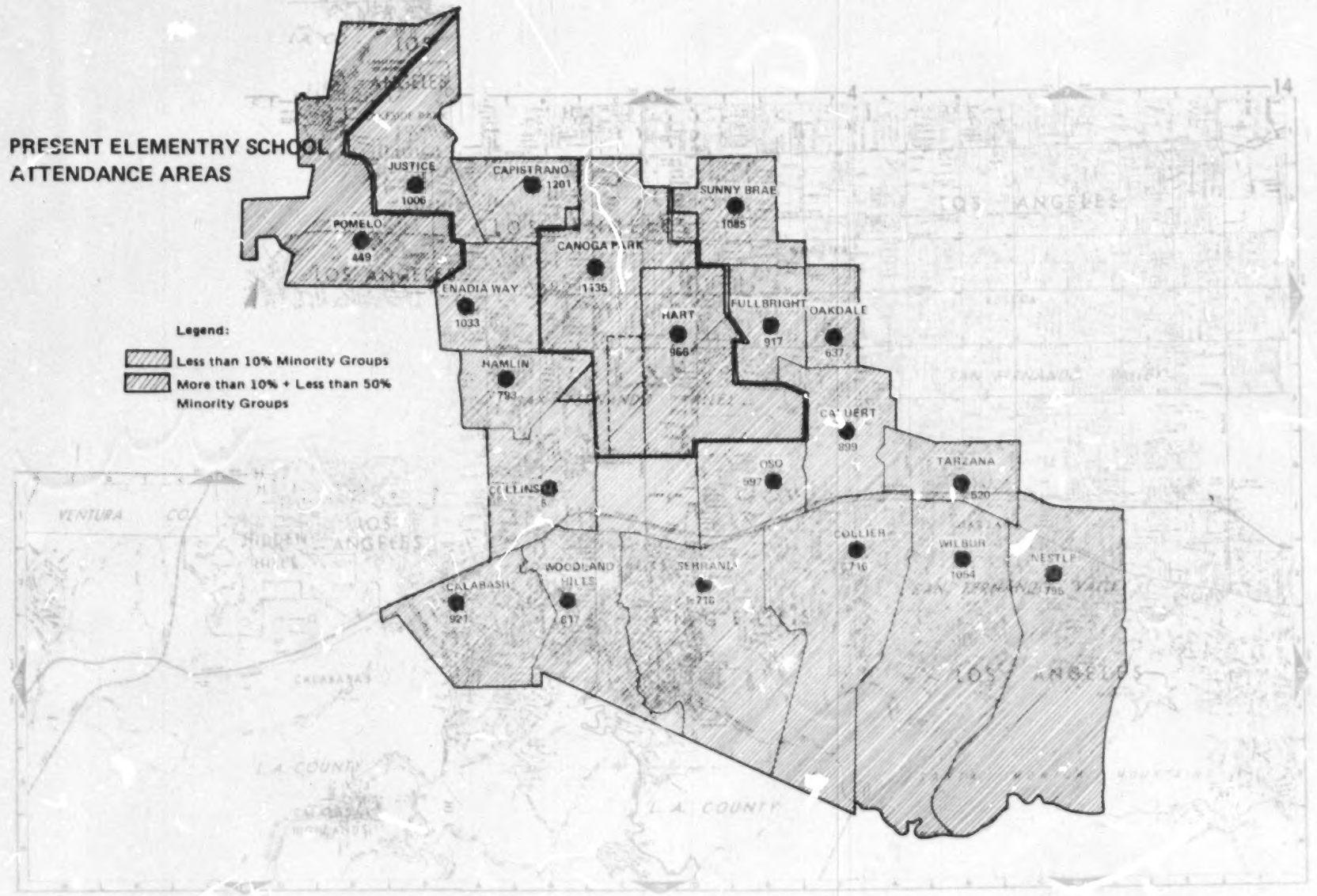
Legend:

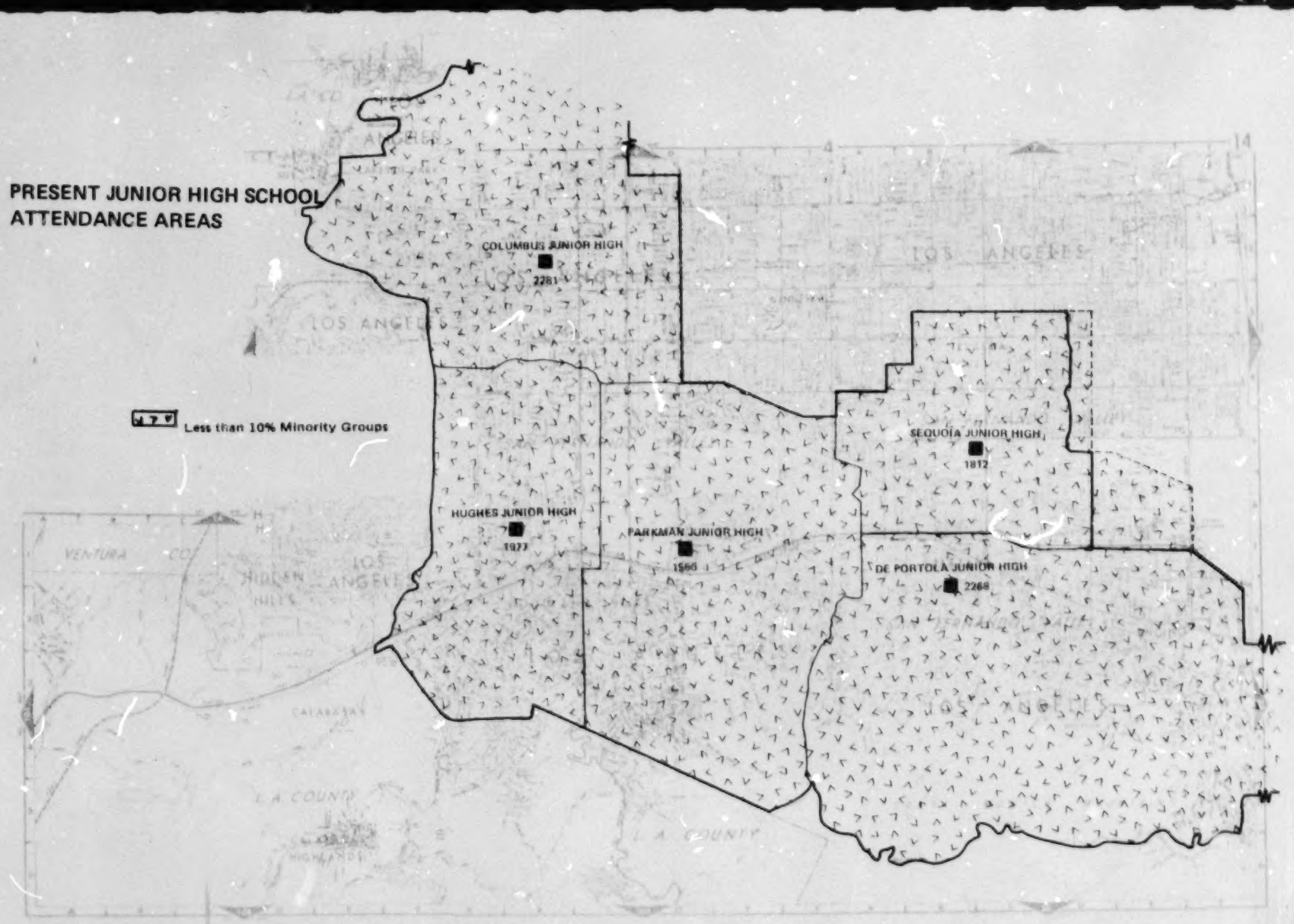
More than 10% + Less than 50% Minority Groups

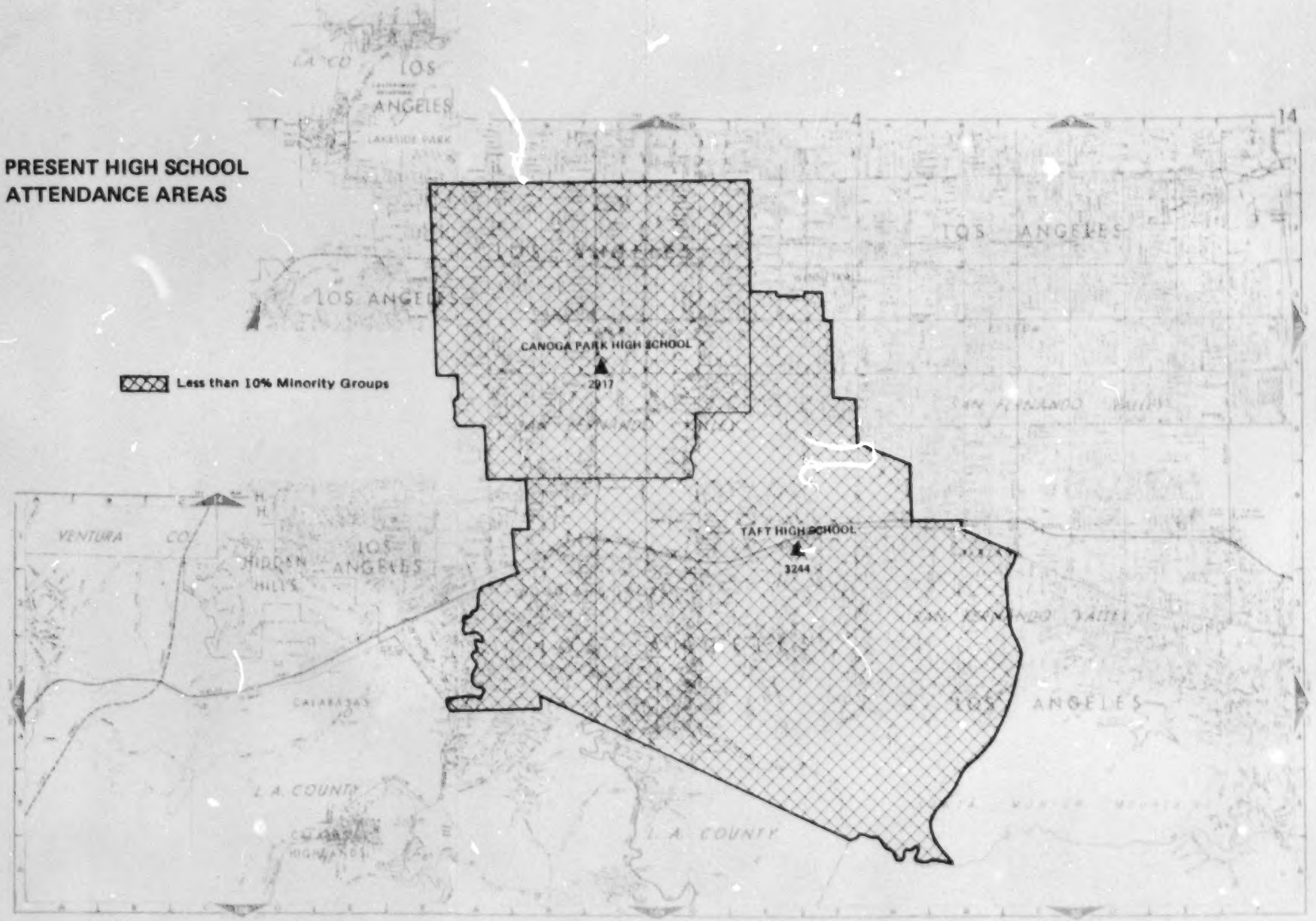
50% or More Minority Groups

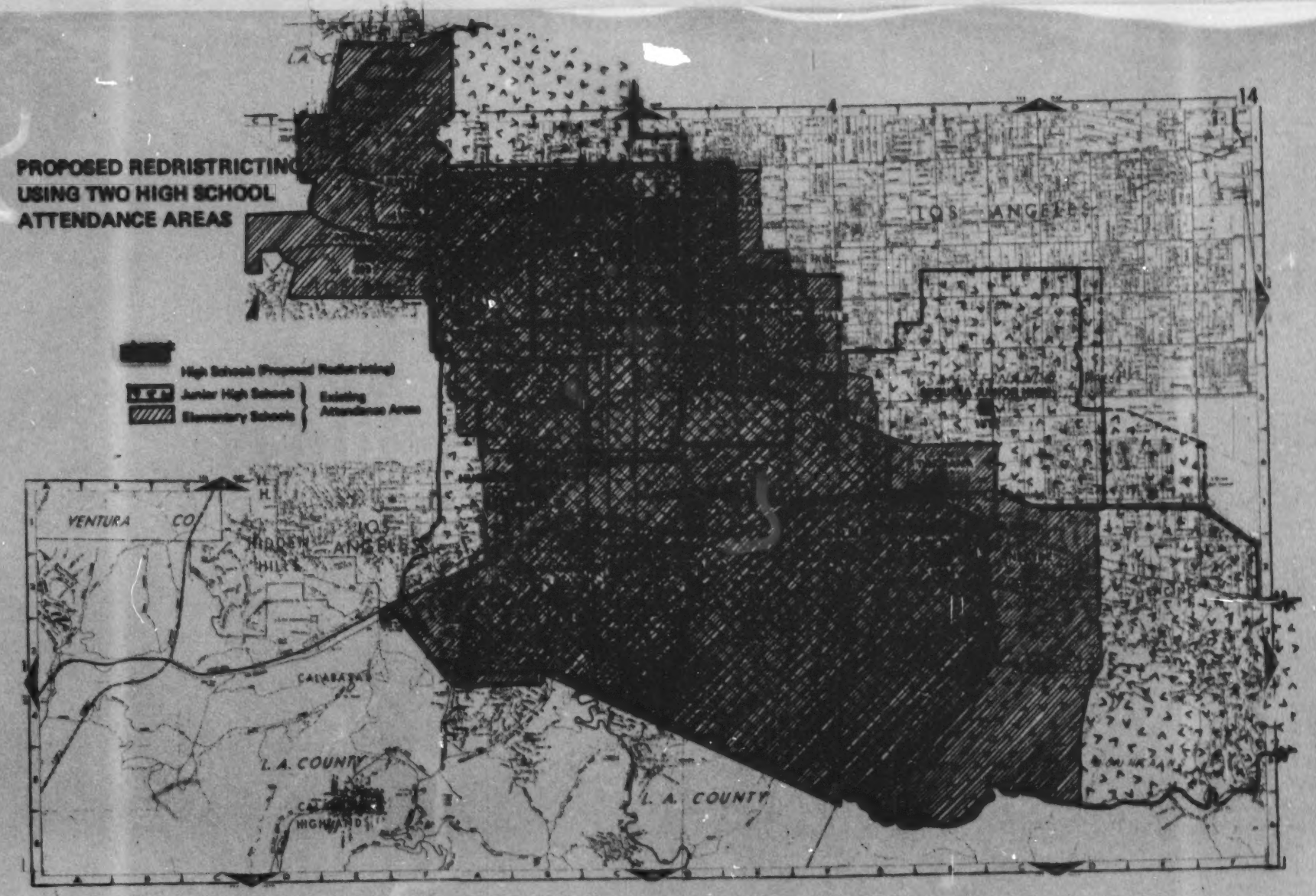
PRESENT HIGH SCHOOL ATTENDANCE AREAS




PRESENT ELEMENTRY SCHOOL ATTENDANCE AREAS
Legend:
Less than 10% Minority Groups
More than 10% + Less than 50% Minority Groups
JUSTICE
1006
CAPISTRANO
1201
SUNNY BRAE
1085
POMELO
449
CANOGA PARK
1435
ENADIA WAY
1033
HART
966
FULLBRIGHT
917
OAKDALE
637
HAMLIN
793
CALVERT
899
TARZANA
520
OSO
597
COLLINS
WILBUR
1054
NESTLE
795
COLLIER
716
WOODLAND HILLS
617
SERRANO
716
CALABASH
921
VENTURA
LOS ANGELES
L.A. COUNTY


PRESENT JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL
ATTENDANCE AREAS
Less than 10% Minority Groups
COLUMBUS JUNIOR HIGH
2281
HUGHES JUNIOR HIGH
1977
PARKMAN JUNIOR HIGH
1566
SEQUOIA JUNIOR HIGH
1812
DE PORTOLA JUNIOR HIGH
2268
LOS ANGELES
VENTURA
HIDDEN HILLS
CALABASAS
L.A. COUNTY


PRESENT HIGH SCHOOL
ATTENDANCE AREAS
Less than 10% Minority Groups
CANOGA PARK HIGH SCHOOL
2917
TAFT HIGH SCHOOL
3244
LOS ANGELES
VENTURA CO.
HIDDEN HILLS
CALABASAS
L.A. COUNTY
4
14


PROPOSED REDRISTRICTIN
USING TWO HIGH SCHOOL
ATTENDANCE AREAS
High Schools (Proposed Redistricting)
Junior High Schools
Elementary Schools
Existing Attendance Areas
14
LOS ANGELES
VENTURA CO
HIDDEN HILLS
CALABASAS
L. A. COUNTY
L. A. COUNTY
HIGHLANDS

111

- The coterminous boundaries should be established by the expected high school classroom method referenced above.

- The size of the total pupil ADA for the subdistrict should be as nearly equal among all subdistricts as is feasible.

Because the outer limits of the boundaries are not presently coterminous and disputes are bound to arise, the initial subdistricting can be based on the High School attendance area boundaries with coterminous Elementary and Junior High boundaries being negotiated between subdistricts with the Office of the County Superintendent of Schools acting as arbitrator if boundaries are not reconciled after a certain time period.

Within the limits of the preceding criteria there are two options, the selection of which is dependent on the intention or requirement that the Gittelson ruling be carried out:

Option 1: Compliance with the Gittelson Ruling

Under this option, the two High School attendance areas (as defined above) would not be contiguous. A High School attendance area and feeder schools having a higher than acceptable proportion of children of minorities would be paired with one having a lower proportion capable of bringing the aggregate proportion of the two areas within the limits of the Gittelson ruling. The subdistrict superintendent would then be responsible for the bussing to balance the situation. In those few cases where contiguous High School attendance areas balance in the aggregate, he would be responsible for bussing and/or gerrymandering the attendance areas, within the contiguous and coterminous boundaries, to effect the balance.

Option 2: Non-compliance with the Gittelson Ruling

In this case, the two High School attendance areas (as defined above) would be contiguous. While this theoretically need not be antithetical to compliance with the Gittelson ruling, as a practical matter it would be defeating the purpose of any organizational decentralization because the bussing of students would represent a subdistrict to subdistrict pupil transfer on a daily basis and would, de facto, remove many of the operating authorities from the subdistrict superintendent. Therefore, proceeding from the premise of some form of decentralization being required, the only interpretation of this alternative is one which is not in compliance with the Gittelson ruling. This is not to say, however, that priorities other than meeting the ruling may not make this alternative the more attractive one in an overall sense.

The effects of the alternatives for subdistricting or the alternatives for reorganization are important. Option 1, non-contiguous High School attendance areas, means that many of the school advisory council members, as well as subdistrict board members, will face the prospect of a substantial commute to attend meetings. In the option where they are advisory only (see school advisory council powers below), this will probably mean that meeting attendance will be predominantly a function of where the meeting is held. Furthermore, it will tend to affect nominations and elections adversely. (It will be difficult for minority group parents to be elected to any school advisory council or subdistrict board because they will, in all cases, comprise a minority [less than 50 percent] and the expenses of commuting will be a greater economic burden, not to mention cultural factors of speech and dress in the persuasion of the electorate.)

The more vital role played as an advisory council member under the option where the advisory council has specified powers would provide more incentive to overcome the aforementioned tendencies. At the subdistrict board level these tendencies would not be expected to apply with equally adverse effects.

Option 2, contiguous High School attendance areas, would assure that the minority group parents would be represented wherever they comprised a significant majority. Furthermore, the commuting costs and cultural factors would be likely to enhance the nomination, election, and participation of local residents who had a vital interest in the school and/or subdistrict.

b. Authorities of the Subdistrict Boards and Relationships with the Central Board

There are several possible approaches to defining the respective powers and authorities of the subdistrict boards and separating them from the prerogatives of the central Board:

- Specify prescriptively each authority to be exercised by the central Board and each authority to be exercised by the subdistrict board.
- Specify prescriptively each authority to be exercised by the central Board and assign "all others" to the subdistrict board.
- Specify prescriptively each authority to be exercised by the subdistrict board with all other legally prescribed powers and authorities remaining with the central Board.

We strongly recommend the latter course. The first approach is extremely arduous and leads into an unbelievably tangled web of

interlocking provisions of the Education Code. The second approach is inconsistent with the prescriptive nature of most of the Education Code. The latter approach is simplest and most straightforward. It defines what few specific authorities need to be delegated to the subdistrict board in order to achieve the desired effects on local school programs and operations without getting mired down in attempts to reify what is already established somewhere in the Code.

It is suggested that the subdistrict boards should be delegated the following specific legal authorities and responsibilities:

(1) Personnel management

- select and hire, and if necessary, fire the subdistrict superintendent
- determine, with the advice of the subdistrict superintendent the number and types of personnel to be employed in the subdistrict
- set salary ranges for administrative and supervisory personnel and approve their employment
- approve the subdistrict superintendent's recommendations for salaries of individual principals based on performance
- approve, with the advice of the subdistrict superintendent, requests by principals to pay specific teachers off scale
- handle second step grievances of subdistrict personnel
- approve promotions of subdistrict personnel upon recommendation by principals or the subdistrict superintendent
- approve the transfer of personnel out of the subdistrict

(2) Curriculum and instruction

- determine what programs shall be offered in the subdistrict (e.g., vocational, preschool, disadvantaged, and so on)

- approve assignment of pupils to schools within the subdistrict and the transfer of pupils among schools

- upon recommendation by the subdistrict superintendent establish special services or resource specialists at school or subdistrict office level

- approve the initiation of special programs or experimental projects

- assure the appropriate application of testing instruments and evaluation processes from central administration, including the use of testing and evaluation results

(3) Resource allocation

- assure the development of and approve budgets for individual schools and for the subdistrict

- assure the use of central office designed accounting procedures and reporting instruments

- allocate resources (provided to the subdistrict) among schools and programs

- establish policies for different allocation of resources to particular categories of pupils on the basis of assessed need (e.g., preschool, disadvantaged, mentally retarded, and so on)

- allocate funds to various supporting services (e.g., maintenance, plant operations, warehousing of supplies)

- recommend to the central Board and administration new school construction, design characteristics, site selection, and remodeling

- apply for, receive, and account for use of outside funds (Federal programs, foundations, private contributions)

- assure and approve the accounting for funds spent and resources used in the achievement of or progress toward defined objectives and publish the results in periodic public reports

- approve the purchase of special supplies not routinely supplied by the district

Specifications of the responsibilities of school principals and advisory councils are described in the next major section dealing with Alternative C-2: Decentralize the administrative and representational functions of the LAUSD.

c. Election Process for Members of the Subdistrict Boards

The composition and election process for subdistrict boards can take several forms:

- The subdistrict board can be comprised of persons who serve on an elected school advisory council. In this case, each advisory council would submit a nomination and the election process would be by all members of advisory councils.

- It could be comprised of parents, teachers, and students (between the ages of 14 and 18) who are associated with the schools in the subdistrict. Elections could be by peers, with parents electing the parent representatives, teachers the teacher representatives, and students the student representatives. Nominations would be open and by petition of those interested in running for a seat on the board.

- The board could be comprised as in the preceding case but adding citizens who reside in the subdistrict. Elections again could be by peers, with citizens who live in the attendance area and who are registered voters, electing the citizen representatives.

- The process could be taken from the general election procedures of California whereby anyone wishing to file nomination papers and having the appropriate number of signatures on his petition could file with the local government office and run for elections to the board. In this case the board would have no special composition and the election process would be open to all registered voters living within the subdistrict.

The subdistrict board members should receive reimbursement for expenses such as transportation and babysitting, and also should receive a nominal amount of compensation.

2. Alternative C-2: Decentralize the Administrative and Representational Functions of LAUSD.

The main thrust of decentralization of large school districts is to lodge more decision-making prerogative at or closer to the schools. This can mean (a) giving the school principal more responsibility and authority (as well as the freedom and flexibility to use it); (b) decentralizing more authority, responsibility, and supporting services from the central office to the area (or zone) offices located organizationally between the central office and the individual schools; or (c) increasing the number of area (or zone) offices, thus reducing the number of school principals reporting to one area assistant superintendent which would tend to shorten the lines of communication, allow for closer coordination, and facilitate improved utilization of those supporting services located at the area office.

Our field work suggests four basic problems with current arrangements in the LAUSD:

- There is a split (both organizational and ideological) between the secondary and elementary education segments which is reflected in articulation and coordination problems between the secondary schools and their "feeder" elementary schools.
- The "span of control" (even though it is less in the more demanding areas) of the area assistant superintendents is too great for them to be able to be appropriately responsive to emerging needs at the local school level.
- Most of the supporting services are not responsible to the line managers of secondary and elementary education which produces frustrations and delays in getting appropriate responses to local school needs.
- School principals have too little flexibility and resources to apply in discretionary ways to adapt their educational programs and services to meet local needs.

As suggested in the discussion on criteria, quality education and accountability would be difficult to achieve under such conditions. Our recommendations for administrative decentralization involve the following general rearrangements.

a. Organize Administrative Units Around Senior High Schools and their Feeder Junior High and Elementary Schools

One option would be to include one senior high school, its one or possibly two feeder junior high schools, and the approximately seven to ten elementary schools that feed the junior high(s) in the administrative unit. This would result in 48 administrative units comprised of from nine to thirteen schools enrolling approximately 12-15,000 students. Each such administrative unit should be headed by an area assistant superintendent. He should be given a lump sum budget, at least for instruction, in accordance with policies set by the District School Board and consonant with the educational needs in his area. He could allocate those funds to pay for instructional resource persons on his staff and to the schools in his area in accordance with their defined educational needs, objectives, and plans. Then he should act to insure accountability in the application and use of those resources by individual school principals and their staff. While it would be desirable for the area assistant superintendent to have supporting services of plant maintenance and operations located in his area, responsible to him, and included in his budget, this becomes awkward and expensive because of the district-wide duplication of maintenance shop and storage facilities and their supervision.

A more desirable option, in our opinoin, would be to organize the area administrative unit around two senior high schools, their two to four feeder junior high schools, and the 15 to 20 elementary feeder schools. This would result in 24 administrative areas each containing approximately 27,000 students in grades K-12. On this scale of operation each area assistant superintendent could afford a somewhat more differentiated array of resource persons at the area office, and the location of plant maintenance, and school supplies warehousing operations, facilities at the area level, and under his direction would then be much more feasible economically.

As indicated on the chart comparing alternatives with respect to the criteria, substantial decentralization is possible without increasing costs. The task report, Appendix H, entitled "New staff deployments possible with budget savings from central office and area level reorganization," shows how approximately $11,400,000 or its equivalent in staff could be "freed up" (on the basis of 1968-69 expenditures and organization patterns) to be reallocated for area or school staffing. That sum split evenly (which probably would not be appropriate) among the 24 new area administrative units would provide $475,000 worth of staff to each area.

In addition to administrative decentralization this alternative provides for decentralization of representation by mandating the election and use of advisory councils for each school. Although advisory councils are now recommended by the LAUSD administration and guidelines have been used for their implementation, many schools utilize only the PTA and a number of advisory councils appear to have been hand-picked or at least screened by the school principal. Accordingly, "representation" in those schools may reflect as much or more of the principals' interests and desires as it does of the community. A substantial number of citizens, particularly those from the black and brown communities, are disenchanted with such advisory groups.

b. Composition of Advisory Councils and Election Processes

The school advisory council should be comprised of teachers in the school, parents of students in the school, the principal, and perhaps members of the community not parents of students in the school and also high school students. We suggest that the proportion of laymen to educators on the council be at least 2:1. The council should be sizable (perhaps 11 to 17) to provide for the staffing of committees; it should meet regularly and make a practice of inviting others, especially students, to participate as visitors, resource persons, or workers on committees.

The teaching staff of a given school should elect its representatives to the school advisory council by secret ballot. Parents of students in a school should elect the community representatives to the council by secret ballot in elections held at the school. If high school students are to be represented on such advisory councils then the students of a given school should elect their representatives, also by secret ballot.

Nomination for election, whether of teachers, students, or laymen, should be by petition so as to avoid possible selection biases of nominating committees. The nature and scheduling of both the nomination and the election processes should be effectively communicated, and the date of elections widely advertised.

There are other possible ways of constituting the advisory councils:

- Establishing specified racial and ethnic composition to reflect the racial and ethnic composition of the school, and open election of candidates (nominated by petition) by persons registered to vote and living in the school attendance area or sending their children to that school.

- Election of a council without specified composition through "at large" election by persons registered to vote and living in the attendance area.

These latter two alternatives suffer from the disadvantage of not assuring that the principal constituencies of the school are adequately represented in the advisory process.

c. Role of the Advisory Council

The council's role should be advisory to the principal and his staff, but members of the council must be chartered to participate in the key planning, evaluation and communication activities of the school. Members of the council should have access to the area assistant superintendent to whom the school principal reports. In fact, the area assistant superintendent should visit council meetings occasionally and by invitation.

Functions of the advisory council should include:

- Participating in the assessment of educational needs, in the establishment of priorities, and in representing resource needs of the school to the area assistant superintendent and the central board.

- Participating in the evaluation of the school, its processes, and its staff, making recommendations for improvement.

- Advising the principal on the use of discretionary funds allocated to the school.

- Contributing to the definition of educational objectives and to the specification of indicators to show progress toward objectives.

- Orienting of school staff to conditions in the community.

- Recommending community resource persons and teacher aides for the school.

- Facilitating school communication with parents and citizens, and mobilizing public support for the school.

- Organizing joint school-community activities.

Under this alternative, with its focus on feeder schools in the high school attendance areas, implicit emphasis may be placed on the "neighborhood school" concept. This is not at all supportive of the court ruling on integration. However, bussing to achieve improved racial balance in schools is quite possible under this alternative. It would even be possible to assign one senior high school and its feeder schools (junior high and elementary) in a predominantly white neighborhood together with one senior high school and its feeder schools in a predominantly black or brown neighborhood to an area assistant superintendent. He would then oversee the transportation of pupils back and forth between the racially different school attendance areas. Representation via the advisory councils would then become more complex and somwwhat more difficult to effect.

In this case, the advisory council for a given school should represent not only the faculty of that school but also the people sending their children to that school regardless of whether they live in the school's normal attendance area or are bussed in. In other words, the parents of children attending a given school should elect the lay members of its advisory council. This means that some members may not live in the school's normal attendance areas; their problems of transportation will be increased; and provision should be made to pay their transportation expenses.

d. Delegation of Authorities to the Area Superintendent

If this alternative is to meet satisfactorily the criteria of quality education and accountability as well as cost, the planning and decision-making prerogatives concerning curriculum, instruction, school and area office staffing, in-service training, and use of funds must be decentralized from the central office to the area assistant superintendent and his principals. As a corollary action to insure that those prerogatives stay decentralized and that possible savings are effected, central office units now responsible for such matters should be phased out or at least significantly reduced in size and responsibility.

While it is inappropriate at this stage to attempt to specify the full range and detail of authority and responsibilities which should be delegated to the area assistant superintendent and his principals, our field work suggests that the following general responsibilities to the area level:

(1) Resource allocation

- Recommend and justify the budget required by the area office and schools.

- Allocate resources (provided to the area) among the schools in the area.

- Establish differential allocations to particular categories of pupils on the basis of assessed need (e.g., preschool, disadvantaged, mentally retarded, and so on).

- Allocate funds to school operation and maintenance.

- Recommend new school construction, remodeling, design characteristics, and site selection.

- Apply for, receive, and administer outside funds (from Federal programs, foundation or local contributions) for specific purposes approved by the central board.

- Account for funds spent and resources used in the achievement of or progress toward defined objectives in periodic public reports.

- Purchase special instructional supplies not routinely supplied by the district as requested by principals and within their budgets.

(2) Curriculum and instruction

- Decide what programs shall be offered in the area (e.g., vocational, preschool, disadvantaged, and the like).

- Determine assignment of pupils to schools within the area and the transfer of pupils among schools.

- Determine what array of instructional resource persons and services will be made available to schools from the area office.

- Decisions (on recommendations of principals) regarding the initiation of special programs or experimental projects.

- Insure the appropriate application of testing instruments and evaluation processes, the use of testing and evaluation results, and contribute suggestions to the central administration regarding the improvement of such instruments and processes.

(3) Personnel management

- Select, place, and evaluate the principals of schools in the area, incorporating information from school advisory councils in the decisions.
- Transfer principals among schools in the area, or return them to the central office personnel pool.
- Establish salaries for individual principals based on performance and within ranges established by the central board.
- Recommend principals and area office staff for promotion.
- Handle first step grievances of instructional personnel in the area.
- Insure that principals are working with school advisory councils as chartered.

While it is inevitable that some area responsibilities will be shared at least to some degree with central office administrators (bussing, health services, budgeting and accounting, plant maintenance, and so on) it is also evident that some sharing of responsibilities will also take place with the principals. However, more flexibility and managerial prerogatives must be allocated to the principals than is now the case if criteria of quality education representation, and accountability are to be met satisfactorily.

e. Authorities to be Delegated to Principals

Our field work suggests that the following general authorities and responsibilities be delegated to the school principals to be exercised with the advice of the advisory councils as recommended earlier:

(1) Resource allocation

- Determine the mix of resources to be allocated to and used in the instructional program of the school (i.e., the budget for teachers, aides or other personnel, supplies and materials, contracted services) in accordance with assessed needs and defined objectives.
- Account for and report on the use and results of resource utilization.

- Select specific texts instructional materials, equipment, contracted services and the like, not routinely supplied by the central office.

- Apply for (through the area office) and administer specially funded projects in the school.

- Evaluate the results of resource utilization in the school and use those evaluations in proposing the school budget to the area assistant superintendent for the next year.

- Recommend facilities remodeling needs to the area office and request unique maintenance service.

- Administer the school budget for plant operations (custodial services).

(2) Curriculum and instruction

- Assess educational needs in the schools and define instructional objectives.

- Apply for and, if approved, administer special programs in the school (e.g., compensatory education, preschool, vocational, adult).

- Apply for, and if approved, initiate and evaluate special or experimental instructional projects.

- Determine the curriculum of the school and the nature and structure of courses offered, instructional methods used, class size, staffing patterns, class or grade organization, instructional materials used.

- Provide in-service training for staff to meet diagnosed needs.

- Request the help of instructional resource persons from the area office in program development, instructional improvement, and in-service training.

- Utilize testing instruments and evaluation processes provided by the district.

(3) Personnel management

- Specification of staffing needs (within the budget limit of the school).
- Selection and placement of staff to meet those specifications.
- Removal of staff from the school for transfer (via the area assistant superintendent) to another school in the area or to the central office personnel pool.
- Assignment of school staff to classes or other instructional duties.
- Recommend school staff for promotion.
- Establish salaries for instructional staff within ranges established by the central board.

In summary, alternative C-2 -- decentralize administratively and representationally -- meets the criteria in the following ways.

It results in an improved capacity to identify specific patterns of educational need at the local school level. It improves the potential of individual schools to deliver educational experiences specifically tailored to the needs of students in those schools. It provides a good deal more flexibility of response at area and local school levels. It stimulates additional citizen and parent involvement in and support of school functions.

Limitations on the ability to deliver quality education are linked to some shortcomings with respect to the criteria of representation and accountability. There is no way of assuring that delegated decision-making prerogatives will stay decentralized. Decisions can too easily be preempted from the principal by the area assistant superintendent or from the area to the central office or the board. Thus, accountability can become diffused. Additionally, there is no way of assuring that local advisory councils will be listened to and heeded. They have relatively little clout or power. Thus accountability to parents and the community may not be assured. Recognition of this shortcoming is noted in the prejudice of a number of citizens against the concept of advisory councils.

However, the alternative does improve the ability of the community (teachers, students, and parents) to register their views on schools and schooling. It also permits action to achieve improved racial balance in schools.

Much of this reorganization can be achieved at no increase in cost. Additional costs would be incurred if staffing patterns at school levels are enlarged significantly beyond present levels. However, those staffing patterns should be expanded, at least in some schools, to redress the educational deficits there. Increased funding is necessary for that purpose.

There is considerable social and political support for this alternative, particularly among educators. But as noted above, a number of citizens, particularly those disenchanted with the school system, believe that advisory councils are too weak to be beneficial.

3. Alternative D-2--Reorganize to Subdistricts with Locally Elected Governing Boards Having Specified Powers, but on a County-wide Basis

This alternative, while third in priority of recommendation has two significant limitations: the large one-time cost associated with implementation; and the expected resistance from communities not presently a part of LAUSD and having their own independent school district. The basic mechanisms (subdistricting, powers of subdistrict boards, and so forth) are essentially the same as for D-1 as described above. However, there are several issues requiring examination before this alternative could be pursued.

a. Full Examination of Bussing Requirements

This would require an exploration of whether the less than ten percent criterion in Judge Gittelson's ruling would extend to the sparsely populated eastern area of the County.

b. Development of the Means for Handling the Very Large One-time Costs

As the costs are not presently known, the various areas of reconciliation would need to be studied and cost estimates for conversion prepared. Some specific areas would be:

- Two-year continuances of salaries for certain centrally located personnel in LAUSD.

- Similar continuance salaries for other independent districts in the county.

- Costs of reconciling accounting records, pupil statistics, pension funds, salary scales, and so forth.

- Costs for staffing the Los Angeles County Superintendent's office.

c. Development of Incentives

As there is little incentive for a presently independent district to assume the one-time costs and there is likely to be confusion and uncertainty in the transition, some form of outside incentive funding, similar to those used for encouraging unification, will need to be developed.